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WALTER R. VAUGHAN,
CHICAGO, ILL.
(See Sketch on page 56.)

VAUGHAN'S
"FREEDMEN'S PENSION BILL."

BEING AN APPEAL IN BEHALF OF MEN
RELEASED FROM SLAVERY.

A PLEA FOR
AMERICAN FREEDMEN
AND
A RATIONAL PROPOSITION TO GRANT PENSIONS
TO PERSONS OF COLOR EMANCIPATED
FROM SLAVERY.

W. R. VAUGHAN.
AUTHOR,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.



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W. R. VAUGHAN,

OMAHA, NEBRASKA,

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DEDICATED TO

W. J. CONNELL, the brave representative in the halls of the American Congress, from Nebraska, who dared to say that the slave of a century is entitled to financial recognition because of former wrongs. To him it is dedicated by the author of this book and also the Pension Bill.

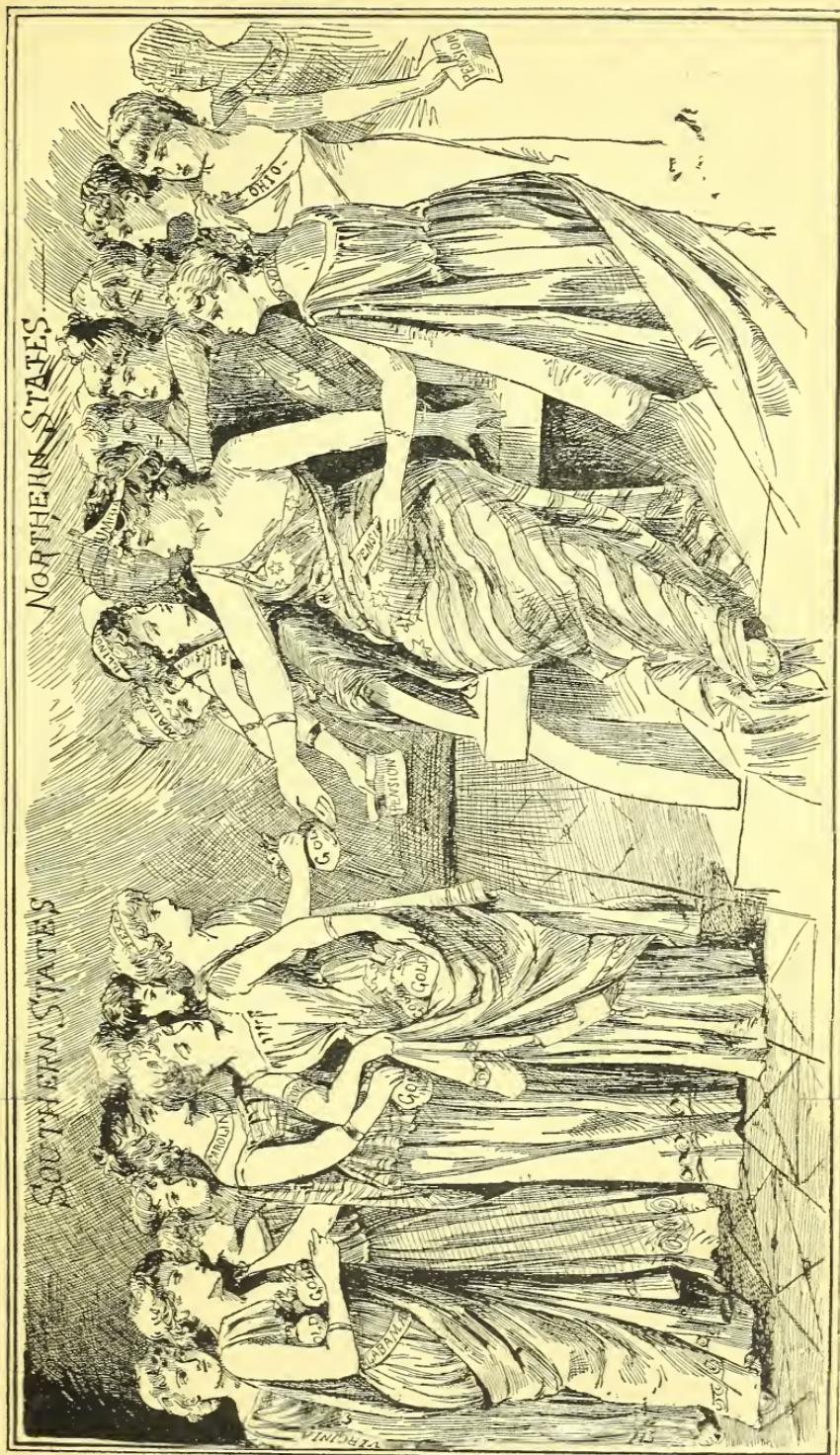
By his friend,

WALTER R. VAUGHAN.

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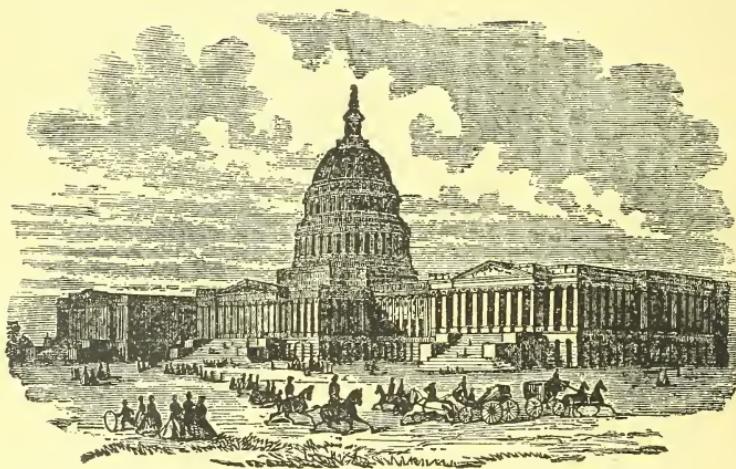
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The South furnishing revenue for the Nation with a liberal hand, contributing millions for the pension of Union soldiers at the North, while supporting their old, maimed and decrepit ex-slaves, who have been freed by the Government!

244177



THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

Where laws have been made and slavery endorsed for over a hundred years, and where the results of negro labor have been enjoyed, without giving compensation therefor.

PREFACE.

In approaching a work that I deem to be of national importance, it may be a duty I owe to my countrymen, whether white or black, to say that I have been moved in the direction of asking the Government to provide pensions for former slaves by a sense of duty which I esteem the Government to owe to men who have been the unwilling subjects of lawful authority adversely to their natural right of personal liberty. The people made free by Presidential Proclamation, and confirmed in their freedom by amendments to the Federal Constitution, and by the organic laws of those States where slavery was a recognized institution prior to the war of the rebellion, have certain natural rights that neither the puffs of newspaper writers nor the whimsical cant of small fry politicians can oppress into obedient silence. The fact stands forth in historic writ that an enslaved black race has been set free after a lifetime of service to masters not of its own choosing. During the years of Negro servitude colored men, women and children have been rated as chattels and taxed as such for the exclusive benefit of the white race. Courts, schools and benevolent institutions have been established and maintained upon the blood and sweat of the Negro race. The cattle upon southern plantations returned less money into the public treasury for the maintenance of educational institutions than Negro chattels held into slavery through a system of traditional wrong. The direct beneficiaries of the system of slavery were not responsible for a wrong entailed upon them. Until the way for emancipation was opened, by the circumstances of war, the freedom of the Afro-American race was nearly, if not quite, impracticable.

The vicissitude of civil war presented a gloomy picture in the history of the American republic. States dissevered, homes divided and old-time personal friends made public enemies, are but a few of the wretched features of the days made vivid by the continuous gun-powder flashes that burst upon the eyes of an amazed people from Bull Run to Appomattox—from 1861 to 1865. Amidst the din and clash of horrid war but one rainbow of heavenly promise beamed upon the American people as a result of the collapse of the Confederacy. A harbinger of good will came in the assured freedom of the previously condemned slave. Slowly from the ruin of war the States were rehabilitated, and took their places as members of the Constitutional Union. At every stage of reconstruction the freedom of the Negro was made more certain, and in that work the doom of slavery was forever settled upon the North American continent.

But the freedom of the Negro has not compensated the families turned adrift from home and bade to work for personal subsistence. In old age, and many in the throes of poverty, they appeal to the Government that made them free to furnish them a necessary support. The Government has no right to convert the circumstances of their freedom into a condition of absolute cruelty. If the saviors of a nation are entitled to the aid of the Government, surely the wards of the nation are worthy of practical assistance.

Be just to the blacks of the days of slavery. Their recognition as citizens, worthy of compensation for past errors of the Government, will do more to elevate the fame of a great nation that dares to be just, even at a late hour, than all the story of its brilliant achievements in arms. The glory of American freedom will be made perfect in the pension of the surviving slaves of the ante-bellum period.

W. R. VAUGHAN.

OMAHA, NEB., October 1, 1890.

TO THE PEOPLE.

Since the publication of the first edition of Vaughan's Freedmen's Pension Bill and Plea for the Old Slave, the effort in behalf of the right has had substantial progress, though hampered by all the whims and obstacles which usually obstruct a work of reform. The disadvantage of undertaking the right in the face of prejudice to be encountered in state, in church, in school and college, has been nearly infinite; but the sunlight of reason has shed an occasional glinting of hope emerging from the darkness of despair. The way is at length open for a better showing before the country; still the task in hand is almost appalling. For a man of great wealth the accomplishment of a truly humanitarian work of right and justice may be a pleasurable undertaking. But when the labor of reform falls into hands not filled with "the root of all evil," the task assumed is one presenting direful misgivings at every step. But a great work must and will succeed in spite of every opposing difficulty.

The first edition of 10,000 copies has been exhausted at great loss to the author. A second edition is ready for submission to the public. Much labor and expense have been added, so that readers may be assured of the earnest work in hand. In going before the public the cost and toil and the wear and tear of physical and mental forces were not overlooked. Rebuffs were expected, and have been abundant. Discouragement has appeared in every possible form. White men have frowned and combated, while many influential and educated Negroes have been incredulous and doubtful. Still the work has made progress, and it will not be allowed to flag. The rights of the old slaves must be recognized. Strong hands have been laid to the plow, and there will be no turning back.

CHICAGO, ILL., September 1, 1891.

W. R. VAUGHAN.

VAUGHAN'S PLEA FOR THE OLD SLAVES.

The work of history, written in the interest of the races of mankind, has been sadly deficient in its efforts to do justice between the various elements of civilization. In surveying the field of universal population that spreads over a myriad of climes, making up a world, it must be apparent to the interested observer that the field of progress has been disputed from the beginning, only to be acquired in the end by those elements of nationality which secured domination here and there by means of force. The people who were subdued fell into despondency and at length into slavery.

It is not the purpose of the writer to delineate the advancement of the northern races that made progress in the work of civilization, or to decry the lassitude that enveloped the people of warmer climates who eventually became a prey to their more vigorous neighbors. The recognition of might in making right the will of those in power has done much in the direction of giving tyrants their sway, and of transmitting their authority to those who may arise in the line of heredity. Nations have been born and made to rule simply at the behest of adjacent power. Kings have advanced the rules of kingdoms by placing members of royal families in control of provinces conquered by the work of war.

In the advancement of power it has naturally followed that those who were weak fell into communities by themselves, and they became the prey of their more powerful neighbors. As far as they could they resisted predatory incursions designed to make vassals of captives; but the fact is indisputable that human slavery was born of captive people made prisoners from the circumstance of war.

Once the existence of human slavery had gained a foothold within the domain of a powerful monarch, it was an easy work for the navies of that monarch to spread the institution wherever there was a demand for labor. The slave trade sprang up and flourished at the will of potentates whose provinces were enriched by the products of slave labor.

According to Chambers' Encyclopedia, which states the case very fairly, the negro slavery of modern times was a sequel to the

discovery of America. Before that discovery African negroes, who were but races of savages, enslaved their captives taken in war. That is to say, a successful tribe made slaves of its prisoners taken from an unsuccessful or weaker tribe. The Arabs, who were roving bands of merchantmen, made a regular trade in negroes who were captives of warlike expeditions. After the discoveries of Columbus, and those who followed in his wake, the deportation of Africans to the plantations and mines of the New World raised the value of captive negroes and gave to them a market value. Instead of putting captives to death, as had been the custom, thenceforward they were sold into slavery and shipped to North or South America or to adjacent islands. The Portuguese, who possessed a large part of the African coast, began the work of importing negro slaves to America, and other seafaring nations quickly followed in the remunerative trade. England furnished her quota of merchants and merchant ships to carry on a business wherein traders made fortunes. No less than 300,000 slaves were conveyed under the British flag from the coast of Africa between the years 1680 and 1700, and between 1700 and 1786 the vast number of 610,000 were exported from Africa to the Island of Jamaica, a British province, to say nothing of the vast army thrust upon the British colonial possessions of North America.

The British nation, that engaged so earnestly in the work of planting slavery on the soil of the New World, took an early part in suppressing the African slave trade and also in the work of emancipation. A society for the suppression of the slave trade was organized in London in 1787. The parliamentary leader in this great work of humanity was William Wilberforce, who occupied about the same relation to the British parliament of a century ago that William E. Gladstone does to the parliament of to-day. The bill presented by Wilberforce, looking to the abolition of the slave trade, failed in 1791. but under the leadership of Mr. Fox it subsequently became a law and was made operative after January 1, 1808. The United States followed Great Britain in the suppression of the slave trade. Other countries joined in suppressing the traffic. But Englishmen continued the nefarious work for a number of years under the protection of the flags of both Spain and Portugal. In 1811 the British parliament, under the leadership of Lord Brougham, made participation in the slave trade a felony, and in 1824 it was declared piracy, punishable with death.

But while this work of reform had been spreading over the world the slave traders of Great Britain had succeeded in planting the institution of slavery upon a firm basis in the British provinces of North America. Hence those colonies had been easily made the recipients of British rape upon the savage tribes along the coast of Africa. In this way American colonists, to whom large grants of land had been made in North America, became enriched without severe effort on the part of the grantees. English slavers poured a horde of African captives upon the American colonies and compelled planters to buy them as a condition of British protection. In 1618 the British ship *Treasurer* was engaged in the slave trade and landed African negroes from the mouth of the Congo river upon the banks of the James. The following year a Dutch man-of-war, sailing under commission of the Prince of Orange, landed upon the coast of Virginia a cargo of 14 negroes, and the next season a cargo of 39 souls was landed at Jamestown. These were placed on the market for sale, payable in tobacco, which seems at that time to have been the currency of the realm. An able-bodied African slave was sold for 60 pounds of tobacco, and the purchasing planter was supposed to have paid the full value of the poor negro's body and soul in the transfer.

It was, perhaps, forty years after the introduction of slavery into Virginia before the work of planting involuntary African servitude upon American soil was countenanced by acts of the Virginia colony. In 1662 an act was adopted in the Colonial Assembly of Virginia providing that slaves might be held as subjects of law. Previously to December 14, of that year, slavery existed without legal authority, but the sale of men and women, the separation of families and the helpless condition of children born in slavery induced a law regulating the sale of slaves; and perhaps that law remains unrepealed and in effective force to-day, save the fact that subsequent conditions may have annulled it.

An exhaustive examination fails to furnish any data going to show that Virginia as a state made any revocation of laws adopted in ante-revolutionary days establishing colonial slavery. It was natural that olden laws should be accepted as part of the first constitution of Virginia, under the federal system, and that slavery should have been recognized as a state institution.

The condition of African slavery existing in Virginia, in pursuance of colonial custom and law, naturally extended into the territorial dependencies of Virginia, and might have remained as an institution until emancipation came, but for the act of congress

in 1787, which excluded slavery from the northwestern territory ceded by Virginia to the United States.

At the organization of the Federal Government the institution of slavery existed in all of the original thirteen states. It was not alone in the states south of Mason and Dixon's line that slavery was a fixed institution, but in the other commonwealths, which became partners of the South in resistance to the tyranny of King George, there were slaves held by the white inhabitants under authority of local law. By virtue of the first federal census, taken in pursuance of the constitution of the United States, and under the authority of George Washington, then serving the first presidential term of the new republic, we find the following slave population returned in 1790—just one hundred years ago:

Connecticut	2,759
Delaware.....	8,887
Georgia.....	29,264
Kentucky	11,830
Maryland.....	103,036
New Hampshire.....	158
New Jersey.....	11,423
New York	21,824
North Carolina.....	100,572
Pennsylvania	3,737
Rhode Island.....	952
South Carolina.....	107,094
Vermont.....	17
Virginia	293,427
Territory south of Ohio river.....	3,417
<hr/>	
Total.....	697,897

It is thus made to appear that the people of the Federal States looked upon slavery as an established institution at the incipiency of our Government, to be regulated with respect to commerce abroad and domestic security at home. Two-thirds of a million of slave people were recognized as a part of the people of the Federal Government. From that day until the first proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, dated September 22, 1862, looking to the emancipation of the colored race from bondage, the existence of slavery as a national institution was recognized in law, and by the administration in power at the seat of the general government as a fixed institution of the new republic. The Northern States, one after another, that looked upon the institution of slavery in 1790 as existing by recognition of the national government, adopted acts of gradual emancipation which freed them from the stigma

of slavery early in the nineteenth century. Yet it is a fact that slaves were held in several of the states north of Mason and Dixon's line as late as 1840.

The history of the warfare against slavery instituted by William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Gerritt Smith, Horace Greeley and others of the old-time abolition leaders goes to show that they never contemplated the forcible abolition of slavery. They looked upon it as an institution fastened upon the people by ancient colonial law, and they hoped to secure emancipation by making the institution repulsive to those who held slaves, and to appeal to their sense of justice for the obliteration of the lines that held black men in servitude.

Even as late as August 22, 1862, when the war of the rebellion was in full blast, President Lincoln expressed himself to Horace Greeley in the following forcible terms:

My paramount object is to save the Union and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear to do, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

It will thus be seen that by the strongest friends of the colored race the question involved in the war of the rebellion did not contemplate the release of the slave from the bondage of serfdom. The idea paramount in the minds of the great men of the early war period contemplated no freedom for the slave, but merely the making of him an instrument in the suppression of an armed rebellion and the salvation of a constitutional union of the states, without regard to the immediate effect which the saving of the Union might have upon the status of the negro. All men in high places looked upon the negro as an unwilling factor in the government, forced upon the states by ancient British rule; and in saving the institutions planted upon this hemisphere by the fathers of the republic the condition of the negro had no part or parcel in the consideration of the men who sustained Abraham Lincoln during the early days of the rebellion. The circumstances of emancipation were compelled by the circumstances of war.

It is known and admitted that President Lincoln had in contemplation, early in 1861, the appointment of Stephen A. Douglas to the command of the army of the United States. Mr. Douglas at that date was willing to have slavery extended into free territory in case it was the will of the people; which, how-

ever, he did not believe to prevail. But with his known and declared sentiments, had he lived, Mr. Douglas would most likely have been made commander of the Union armies, and it is possible that he might have been the first declarer of slavery emancipation within the states. The circumstances of his surroundings would probably have pointed to him the line of duty as it appeared to Mr. Lincoln in the progress of a carnage which finally made an enslaved race free.

The meager incidents in the career of African slavery already mentioned are sufficient in themselves to demonstrate that slavery was planted within the United States by force, and was continued under authority of law until emancipation was promulgated as a measure necessary to ensure the quelling of an armed rebellion. Emancipation was not a voluntary tribute to freedom, but was extorted by the circumstances of war, as a measure necessary to overthrow the power of insurgents against constitutional government. The men in authority at the time civil war began to rage had no idea of making use of the negro as an agent in conquering the rebellion. When it became manifest that it was a necessity to make use of all the means which God and nature had placed at the disposal of duly constituted authority, in order that armed resistance against the government might be suppressed, then, and only then, was the president moved to make a proclamation of freedom to southern slaves. The person is not living, white or black, who will presume to assert that Abraham Lincoln was not a man of large heart, humane impulses and an earnest friend of liberty to all mankind. But as president of the republic he esteemed it his first duty to save the life of a nation, the government whereof had been committed to his hands. Mr. Lincoln was not alone in this view. Cabinet officers, members of both houses of congress, military commanders in the field, and in truth nearly all the inhabitants of the loyal states accepted the same line of policy as the governing principle of the war into which the nation had suddenly plunged.

In the progress of the war it became the policy of the United States Government to enlist the services of negro soldiers as an element directly interested in measures which, in the end, led to the freedom of an enslaved race. It is perhaps true that the Confederacy took the first step in the direction of employing colored troops, and in this way set a wholesome example to the Federal authorities. Whether the enlistment of colored troops for service in the Southern army contemplated the freedom of such soldiers

does not certainly appear. Had such freedom been promised, it is possible that a formidable army of blacks might have been recruited for the army of the South. But that negro soldiers were employed is pretty well established. The Charleston Mercury noted, within a fortnight after the attack upon Fort Sumter had been made, that several companies of the Third and Fourth regiments of Georgia had marched for the theater of war in Virginia, and that accompanying them was one company of negro soldiers from Nashville, Tenn., which had offered its services to the Confederate States and had been accepted. In the early part of May, 1861, a citizens' committee of safety at Memphis took steps to authorize C. Deloach, D. R. Cook and William B. Greenlaw "to organize a volunteer company composed of our patriotic free men of color, of the city of Memphis, for the service of our common defense." It does not appear that negroes held as slaves were asked to join the enterprise. Later on, February 9, 1862, there was a grand military review held in the city of New Orleans at which, according to the Daily Picayune, there were included "companies of free colored men, all very well drilled and comfortably uniformed." It was further stated that these negro soldiers had supplied themselves with arms without regard to cost or trouble, unaided by the Confederate Government. On this occasion "a fine war flag" was presented to Captain Jordan of the colored troops, and in response to the presentation the colored commandant delivered "one of his most felicitous speeches." It was not stated whether the "fine war flag" was ornamented with the stars and bars or whether it was of some other design. It is also historically narrated that about February, 1862, able-bodied colored men—contrabands, so-called—were taken to Richmond, formed into regiments and armed for the defense of that city. It is also known that Gen. Mansfield Lovell and Gen. Ruggles, in command at New Orleans prior to the advance of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler upon that city, from the direction of the gulf, had in their command a regiment composed of fourteen hundred men of color.

The fact of the enlistment of colored soldiers in the service of the insurrectionary states very probably had its influence upon the authorities at Washington, inducing the acceptance of negro troops in the Union service. At the beginning Mr. Lincoln hesitated in respect to his duty in placing arms in the hands of negroes. Others doubted the prudence of such a step, and it was the logic of circumstances rather than of deliberate design which

opened the way for the formation of negro regiments in support of the Union cause. In 1862 Secretary of War Cameron authorized Gen. W. T. Sherman to accept the services of "loyal persons" who desired to aid in the suppression of rebellion in the vicinity of Port Royal. Gen. David Hunter very soon succeeded Gen. Sherman, and he found the authority given his predecessor among the military papers upon the files of his office. Gen. Hunter interpreted the authority to accept the services of "loyal persons" in a liberal spirit, and thereupon proceeded to enroll a regiment of blacks, which he officered with white men of recognized military skill and ability. The arming of the slaves in South Carolina opened a new feature in the progress of the war and occasioned manifest surprise in the halls of congress. The Hon. Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution of inquiry respecting the action of Gen. Hunter, which called forth a formal correspondence between Edwin M. Stanton, the successor of Mr. Cameron in the War Department, and the Hon. Galusha A. Grow, then Speaker of the House. The conditions which prompted the course of Gen. Hunter were fully stated and the action of the General was fully approved. In regard to the effectiveness of the colored troops thus brought into the service of the Union army, Gen. Hunter spoke in the highest terms of praise. He said: "The experiment of arming the blacks, so far as I have made it, has been a complete and even a marvelous success. They are sober, docile, attentive and enthusiastic, displaying great natural capacities for acquiring the duties of the soldier. They are eager beyond all things to take the field and be led into action, and it is the unanimous opinion of the officers who have had charge of them that, in the peculiarities of this climate and country, they will prove invaluable auxiliaries, fully equal to similar regiments so long and successfully used by the British authorities in the West India Islands." Gen. Hunter concluded his answer to Mr. Wickliffe's congressional resolution by saying that he hoped to be able to present to the Government from forty-eight to fifty thousand of hardy, devoted negro soldiers by the next autumn. This fondly expressed hope was not realized, but of the gallant black soldiers who did enlist under the banner of the Union there were none who failed to do valiant service for a restored Union and in the cause of the freedom of their race.

When Gen. Hunter's communication to Secretary Stanton was read before the House of Representatives, Congressman Dunlap

offered a resolution of censure because of the sentiments expressed therein; but the resolution was not then acted upon, and reflection no doubt satisfied Mr. Dunlap of the unwisdom of his proposed censure. At least he did not again call the attention of the House to the subject. While the censure was not voted, the important facts narrated by the distinguished soldier began bearing fruit in an unexpected quarter. Two senators of the United States called upon President Lincoln and proffered to him the services of two fully equipped negro regiments, which the president did not feel authorized to have mustered into the Union service. One senator allowed his angry passions to arise, and very impudently told Mr. Lincoln that he hoped to God he would resign from the chief magistracy and let some man succeed him who had a little backbone. The same senator was very glad to assent to the re-election of Abraham Lincoln two years later.

A careful survey of the difficulties that surrounded the introduction of the despised black man into the office of a soldier gives, even at this late day, some idea of the prejudices which had to be overcome in order to save the union of the states from threatened dissolution. Thousands were precipitate and impracticable, and other thousands were diffident and impracticable. But in the meantime the negro stood ready to do his part; and although some statesmen were doubtful and hesitating, and others importunate and exacting, the subjects of solicitude were preparing to strike for the perpetuity of the government of their devotion. A thousand enthusiastic lovers of their own race, as well as of the flag they had known as the emblem of freedom to the white race, stood banded together in pursuance of Gen. Hunter's recognition of their right of enlistment; and they succeeded in finding their way into the general military service under an emergency. Secretary Stanton wrote Gen. Saxton saying that "in view of your command and the inability of the government at the present time to increase it in order to guard the plantations and settlements from invasion, and to protect the inhabitants thereof from captivity and invasion by the enemy, you are authorized to arm, uniform and equip and receive into the service of the United States such number of volunteers of African descent as you may deem expedient, not exceeding five thousand," etc. That order enabled Gen. Saxton to get his waiting regiments into service. It enabled him to organize five other regiments. It deprived the rebellion of the direct support of the men who might otherwise have cultivated the fields and raised crops for the sustenance of

southern armies. It opened a new field for the negro, and charged him with a grand importance in crippling the power of the white master, and enabling the black serf to do his part in bringing an armed rebellion to final confusion and ultimate defeat. President Lincoln withdrew reluctantly from the position he originally assumed in opposition to the equipment of negro troops, and finally gave countenance to orders issued from the war department authorizing the formation of negro regiments.

As a matter of history, it may be stated that before the date of accepting distinctive negro companies or regiments in the service of the Union army, many colored men were enlisted in the service in their individual capacity, notably in eastern regiments. The state of Massachusetts, for instance, authorized such enlistments and received recruits from other states which were credited upon the quota of enlistments necessary to exempt the Old Bay State from the provisions of the draft laws enacted by Congress. Colored volunteers were recruited in Indiana, and perhaps in many other states, and sent to Massachusetts in order that they might be mustered into the Union service without objection being raised on account of color. It has never been learned that those soldiers failed to prove less efficient, resolute, brave and daring than the most courageous and valiant of the white enlisted men.

Throughout the South it was found that negroes flocked in numbers to Union encampments, beyond the facilities of army officers to equip them for military service, as Union troops advanced into the heart of the Confederacy. Those who had been reared in the extreme South, or in the very center of the cotton belt, manifested an intense desire to take up arms in behalf of the Union cause far in excess of the colored element along the border and in proximity to the free states. It required months of war and excitement to instill into the minds of those negroes, far removed from contact with northern men and northern sentiment, the fact that a military revolution was in progress that must necessarily terminate in a marked change touching their political relations. Once convinced, however, of the truth, the negro proved to be an important and willing factor in bringing final success to the Union cause.

As early as the month of June, 1862, negroes flocked to the encampment of Gen. Phelps, who had made his way into the rural regions of Louisiana. While resting from the fatigue of hurried marches and almost continual skirmish fighting, in the vicinity of Carrollton, the General found his camp crowded daily with fresh

fugitives from the captivity of slavery. He could not support them in idleness, and a sense of the great work in hand forbade the return of the fugitives to the possession of masters from whom they had escaped. He therefore afforded protection to such as manifested a willingness to shoulder a musket and endure the vicissitude of war as a recompense for personal liberty. The condition of his surroundings was made known officially by Gen. French to Gen. Butler, who was then in command at New Orleans, and the propriety was suggested of recommending that the cadet graduates from West Point be sent into the South to organize and discipline negro levies, so as to make them efficient soldiers for use in the pending war. Very clearly Gen. Butler did not like the suggestion. He advised the employment of "contrabands," as he called them, for fatigue duty, but forbade their employment in the capacity of soldiers. In writing to Gen. Butler, under date of July 31, 1862, it will be found that Gen. Phelps said: "I am not willing to become the mere slave-driver you propose, having no qualifications that way." Thereupon he resigned his commission and backed out of the war.

It will be seen, in the circumstances just narrated, as well as in the diffidence of the president and others high in civil authority, that the ambition of the negro to fight for his freedom was handicapped at almost every point. When the slaves found that a vigorous prosecution of the war meant a speedy reduction of the revolted states to the recognition of a supreme American Union, under which the permanent freedom of their race would have ample guarantee, their anxiety to take a hand in the great fray was intensified in every quarter. Their appeals to do service forced a hearing in the halls of Congress. The failure of the Army of the Potomac to capture Richmond, after seven days of blood-red carnage, no doubt had a tendency in the direction of inducing Congress to make use of all the elements at command which seemed to promise a speedy peace. To this end the Hon. Henry Wilson, chairman of the senate committee on military affairs, introduced a bill, July 16, 1862, empowering the President to accept all persons of African descent, for the purpose of constructing intrenchments or performing camp service, or any war service for which they may be found competent! The peculiar phraseology of the Wilson bill gave color to the idea that, even as late as midsummer 1862, the ability of the negro to make a good soldier was seriously questioned by high authority in the senate of the United States. Most truly the willing and anxious man of color had a hard time

proving his right to fight the battles of his country in a war that involved his own liberty and the freedom of all the people of his race.

It was not until the winter of 1863 that official action was taken authorizing the enlistment of distinctively negro regiments. An order was issued by the secretary of war, January 26, 1863, authorizing Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, to raise two regiments of negro troops to serve two years. Accordingly the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts was organized and equipped, and was mustered into the military service May 13, 1863, being the first complete regiment of negro troops called to duty in quelling the rebellion. It was ordered to proceed to South Carolina, but so great was the prejudice at the North against negro soldiers that the chief of police in the city of New York informed the war department that he feared the regiment would be subjected to insult in case it passed through that metropolis. However, his fears appear to have been groundless, as the regiment passed on its way rejoicing. About the same time Adjutant General Thomas personally took charge of the business of organizing negro regiments from among the contraband negroes gathered at and near military encampments along the lower Mississippi, and October 13, of the same year, Gen. Thomas authorized his assistant, Gen. E. D. Townsend, to issue a general order providing for the enlistment and equipment of negro troops. This was the first general recognition of the negroes to become soldiers of the republic at all times and in all places where recruiting was carried forward; and the third article of General Order No. 329 provided that "all persons enlisted into the military service shall forever thereafter be free."

This was the first absolute proclamation of emancipation issued in the great civil war. Following its promulgation the enlistment of colored soldiers went forward with alacrity in every quarter. Within sixty days 2,300 negro troops were enlisted in New York city, and by December 4, 1863 (about fifty days after the issuance of Gen. Thomas' order) three full regiments of regulars had been mustered into the United States service at Camp William Penn near Philadelphia. Subsequently six other regiments were recruited at the same place. From all quarters reports of enlistments of colored troops go to show that fully one hundred thousand men had responded to the call of the country by the opening of the year 1864, and fully half that number had been mustered into service. They stood with guns in their hands ready to fight for freedom at the drop of a hat.

The history of the great civil war is rich in its testimony of the patriotism of the negro and his devotion to the Union cause, after he had learned the real purpose of the struggle and the government had receded from its rigidity against the employment of colored troops for the suppression of the rebellion. The record made by the negroes entitles the race to grand recognition. By the time of Lee's surrender 186,017 had done honorable service in the Union army. Of this number the New England states furnished 7,916 troops; the three states of New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania furnished 13,922; the western states and territories furnished 12,711; and the southern states (including the District of Columbia, 3,269) furnished 108,755 good and true men. In this splendid record the army rolls record the fact that there were 13 colonels, 27 lieutenant-colonels, 42 majors, 256 captains, 292 first lieutenants and 479 second lieutenants. Evidently the negro got to the front as rapidly as circumstances afforded him an opportunity.

In stating the obstacles that stood in the way of the negro race being able to don the blue, and wear it with honor, no reflection has been made upon the Government, which was slow to accept the service of armed negroes as soldiers of the republic. The president and his advisors merely followed a line of policy that was co-eval with the existence of the republic. Mr. Lincoln did not wish to place the colored race in a difficult position. On the contrary his feeling was most kindly; but he found himself in an abnormal position. As the representative of an anti-slavery sentiment he was made president; but his election did not contemplate more than prudent measures to prevent the spread of the slave institution. The abolition of slavery by means of federal encroachment upon state authority was an idea that had never entered his mind, and he would have rejected the thought with indignation had it been suggested to him as a measure of policy or right. When the time for universal freedom came he was ready for the emergency, but he did not seek it. The war came on; Mr. Lincoln accepted the negro as an element that might be instrumental in the salvation of the Union, and his confidence was not misplaced. Over nearly incomprehensible objections the negro became a soldier while the war was yet raging between the North and South. Now look to the record he made as a soldier.

The first black regiment enlisted for the war was the First South Carolina, commanded by Col. Higginson. Its first material service was an expedition to the St. John's River country, in

Florida, where it was met by sturdy resistance from southern troops, intensified by a natural repugnance of southern white men against confronting negroes with arms in hands. In all its skirmishes the South Carolina troops met with good success. In recounting the results of his expedition the colonel commanding said in every instance his troops came off with unblemished honor and undisputed triumph, and the men had even appealed to him for permission to pursue the flying enemy. His colored troops were brave even unto a fault. No wanton destruction was permitted, and no outrages occurred during the expedition. In his official report Col. Higginson said: "No officer of the regiment now doubts that the successful prosecution of the war now lies in the unlimited employment of black troops."

At the investment of Port Hudson, in May, 1863, the First Louisiana regiment, organized at New Orleans, under the direction of Gen. Butler, was given a prominent position. Col. Stafford addressed the troops saying: "Protect, defend, die for, but do not surrender the regimental flag." The color-bearer, Sergeant Planciancois, responded: "Colonel, I will bring these colors back to you in honor, or report to God the reason why." When asked if he could take a certain battery in an engagement of the war of 1812, a brave American officer modestly replied, "I will try, sir," and he took it. His historic words were not more brave than those of Sergeant Planciancois at the siege of Port Hudson.

In the official report of the reduction of Port Hudson General Banks said: "On the extreme right I posted the First and Third regiments of negro troops. The First regiment of Louisiana engineers composed exclusively of colored men, excepting the officers, was also engaged in the operations of the day. The position occupied by these troops was one of importance, and called for the utmost steadiness and bravery in those to whom it was confided. It gives me pleasure to report that they answered every expectation. Their conduct was heroic. No troops could be more determined or more daring. They made, during the day, three charges upon the batteries of the enemy, suffering very heavy losses, and holding their position at nightfall with the other troops on the right of our line. The highest commendation is bestowed upon them by all the officers in command on the right. Whatever doubt may have existed before as to the efficiency of organizations of this character, the history of this day proves conclusively to those who were in a condition to observe the conduct of these regiments, that the government will find in this

class of troops effective supporters and defenders. The severe test to which they were subjected, and the determined manner in which they encountered the enemy, leave upon my mind no doubt of their ultimate success. They require only good officers, commands of limited numbers, and careful discipline, to make them excellent soldiers." On the strength of the charges of the negro soldiers at Port Hudson upon Confederate batteries, George H. Baker wrote and published a poem after the style of "The Charge of the Six Hundred," which fully rivals that noble production in excellency.

At the Battle of Milliken's Bend, June 6, 1863, 3,000 confederates attacked the command of Gen. Dennis, composed in the main of about 1,250 black troops. The latter held their ground, and such was their heroism in action that their gallantry excited general commendation in Union circles. Gentlemen connected with the Confederate service freely acknowledged that negroes, armed with death dealing weapons and led by experienced commanders, constituted a soldiery that would challenge the admiration of the world.

Along the coast of South Carolina, and to the southward, the naval victories of the Union forces were aided in accomplishment by negroes, and might have been impossible but for the brave work of enlisted men of color who there made a record which has become imperishable. The soldiers who figured in these engagements were enlisted, in a large measure, pursuant to the directions of Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, and direct communication was made with the Governor touching the bravery of the troops he had put in the field in his capacity as governor of the state. It may be truly said that all official reports on record, of those engagements wherein negro soldiers participated, that a perfection of gallantry has been awarded to black soldiers who took up arms in the deep hour of their country's distress.

Following the recognized success of the government in making perfect soldiers of men relieved from the bond of slavery, and of other colored men who had borne arms in the Department of the South and in the region of country contiguous to the lower Mississippi river, the enlistment of colored troops was accepted as the policy of the government in other fields of the great war. They participated in the later engagements of the Army of the Potomac, and largely composed the forces of Gen. Wild, who achieved a substantial success over Gen. Fitzlugh Lee in the battle of Wilson's Wharf. From the date of the introduction of colored soldiers

in the Army of the Potomac all opposition to the participation of such troops in the war subsided, and they were welcomed in all departments alike by officers in command and by their white comrades in arms. In his official report of the engagement at Nashville, Gen. James B. Steedman said that fully twenty-five per cent. of the Union losses were suffered by colored troops. He placed upon record the declaration that he was unable to discover that color made any difference in the fighting capacity of the troops under his command. He remarked that white and black nobly did their duty as soldiers, evincing alike cheerfulness and resolution in the discharge of duty. The antipathy of white soldiers against their black comrades in arms appears to have subsided under the pressure of mutual dangers and their joint struggles for the success of the Union cause.

The troops commanded by Gen. Birney in the East were largely made up of colored enlistments, and no part of the army made a better record for gallantry or soldierly conduct. Gen. Lorenzo Thomas gave cheerful evidence to the fact that in the western armies most heroic service was performed by enlisted blacks at Paducah and Columbus, Ky.; at Memphis, Tenn.; at Vicksburg and Natchez, Miss.; at the works around New Orleans; at the Bridge of Moscow on the Memphis and Corinth line of railway, and at the investment of Fort Pillow, where colored men were baptized unto freedom in rivers of blood.

It is unnecessary to make special mention of the barbarity of the massacre of colored men at Fort Pillow further than to say that it has been condemned by the sense of the civilized world. It was inhuman in the highest degree. Gen. Chalmers, who was directly responsible for the butchery, appears to have been forgiven for his merciless order of "no quarter" by the black people of the South, inasmuch as thousands of them have repeatedly voted for his election to Congress since the era of reconstruction; but there does not appear to have been unanimity among the colored voters in this respect, for the savage general has been regularly defeated at the polls in recent years.

It is unnecessary to follow the colored citizen of the United States further than has been done in the preceding pages with a view of according to him gallantry in arms. The sentiment of the American people has, long ago, settled in the line of admission that the negro was a brave, cool and disciplined soldier in all theaters of the great civil war wherein he had been afforded a fair opportunity for the development of his powers.

In civil life he has shown his capacity for self-government. In the senate of the United States H. R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, both of Mississippi, have given a good reputation to the colored people for a high order of ability. The same may be said of Jere Haralson and J. T. Rapier, of Alabama; J. F. Long, of Georgia; C. E. Nash, of Louisiana; J. R. Lynch, of Mississippi; B. S. Turner, of North Carolina; R. H. Cain, R. C. DeLarge, R. B. Elliott, Joseph H. Rainey, A. J. Ransier and Robert Smalls, of South Carolina; and J. T. Walls, of Virginia, all of whom have appeared in past years upon the floor of the house of representatives. Among the able diplomats who have reflected credit upon the American name abroad may be named Dr. Henry Highland Garnett, Prof. J. Milton Turner, Ebenezer D. Bassett, John M. Langston (now in congress), John H. Smith, and the world renowned Frederick Douglass. In the affairs of their respective states a large number of the colored men have done the people good service as members of the State Legislatures, North and South, and in many local positions. Prominent among the last named class may be mentioned Sidney B. Hinton, of Indiana, who was elected to the office of Canal Commissioner by the general assembly in 1873, and afterwards became a member of the House of Representatives from the capital city and county of that state. When Mr. Hinton was elected to the office of canal commissioner one of his confreres upon the canal board was Thomas Dowling, a gentleman of wealth and distinction, whose personal record had encompassed a generous portion of the early history of the Hoosier commonwealth. Being approached by a small-fry politician, whose aim was to badger Mr. Dowling upon the contingency that required him to recognize a colored man as his political equal, the diminutive politician said:

“I congratulate you, Col. Dowling, upon being obliged to sit upon the canal board as the co-partner of Sid Hinton. How do you like a seat by a nigger anyhow?”

Col. Dowling instantly replied: “I feel complimented, sir. I have known Mr. Hinton for twenty years, and I am honored in being placed at his side above what I would have been had you been elected canal commissioner instead of him. While he has devoted his time, talents and money towards the elevation of his race you have done your utmost to drag your race down.”

This interesting dialogue at once came to a conclusion, and Col. Tom Dowling was not again molested with an insinuation that he had been obliged to recognize the political equality of a

“nigger.” Indeed it may be said that similar reflections upon the propriety of complete justice being done to the African race speedily died out when it became known that the negro was doing his utmost to merit the boon of freedom with which he had suddenly become clothed.

Even after more than a quarter of a century of freedom bestowed upon the men and women who were released from slavery by the direful arbitrament of arms, there is an influential and educated class of well meaning people who seem to doubt the capacity of the negro for self government. If such a doubt can rightfully exist, it only furnishes the most forcible reason that can possibly be assigned, why the general government and the state governments should exert every effort at the command of the people, to remove such a frightful disqualification from a mass of citizens in whose hands the ballot has been placed by the authority of the Federal Constitution. A free government can only be maintained upon a basis of general intelligence. The federal census, now being compiled, will probably show that the negro population of the United States amounts to one-ninth of the entire inhabitancy of all the states and territories. The black race is increasing in numbers more rapidly, in relative strength, in this country than the white race. With these facts confronting us it may be well to ask whether extraordinary measures are not absolutely demanded, looking to the lifting up in the scale of intelligence of a people who must continue to be a powerful fraction of our people for generations to come. Give to these men absolute justice. Pay them a stipend of their earnings during the years of their involuntary service. Place before them the means of bettering their condition. When released from penury they will be willing to accept a higher life, and to do their part in sustaining a government that has been just and fair to them. Give to them a measure of pension which is their national right.

During the present year a deliberative body known as the “First Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question,” assembled at Lake Mohonk and engaged in a solemn discussion of the negro problem. It was accorded to the negro, by all participants in debate, that he was no weakling, and that his future must be determined in a sense of strict justice. One of the orators, Rev. A. D. Mayo, while assenting to the proposition that the negro was radical in his views, went on to say that he was also a very politic member of the community, in the endurance of that which he could not overcome, and in his tactful and even crafty appro-

priation of all opportunities. He has, as the reverend gentleman freely admitted, pushed in at every open door, listened while attending at the white man's table, hung about the church and hustings, taken in the celebration of the public occasion, and he has observed methods on election day even when he could not vote. He has been all eyes and ears, and even the pores of his skin have been open to the incoming of a practical education in life. Deprived, in a large measure, of the use of books, because of his inability to absorb their contents, and not possessing the ordinary apparatus of instruction, he has eagerly applied the circumstances of actual life, as it has come before him, to the betterment of his own condition; and in very many respects he has made the application much more successfully than many of the "superior race" who have not been obliged to contend with a life of servitude in their struggle for existence. The negro has been called a creature of imitation. All men are such, in a certain degree, but it must be admitted that in the case of the black man his imitations have been vastly helpful to his personal condition.

As the years pass by the resident negroes of the South, who were once slaves, will naturally become land-owners and the holders in fee of the homesteads whereon they reside. Many of them will become men of wealth as some have already done. The succeeding pages of this volume will indicate a few of many instances wherein the negro has raised himself from the cabin of slave days to opulence and high influence in church, school and state. As a class the southern negroes have no more idea of going to Africa than they have of undertaking a journey to the moon. Neither will they generally colonize into black communities, separate and apart from the white people. They are inhabitants of the republic, and by reason of habit and inclination they will remain in the land that has given them birth, and where home scenes and customs attach them to their surroundings. It is a part of the duty which society owes to them that they should be liberally assisted in making their conditions harmonious and conducive to the general welfare.

The conference at Lake Mohonk might have done a great deal for the weal of the negro, and incidentally for the welfare of society, had the delegates discussed, in a calm and dispassionate manner, the propriety of giving to the emancipated slaves a pension out of the plethoric treasury of the government. A discussion of means designed to benefit this class will find a responsive

echo in the breasts of the black people beyond any high-flown resolutions respecting their moral condition or the supply of tracts and printed arguments upon abstruse questions. As the Lake Mohonk conference appears to be a permanent assembly, intended to have its annual meetings, it is very respectfully suggested that the next convocation shall devote its time to the discussion of practical questions.

In his line of discourse Dr. Mayo justly remarked that the old slaves were Southerners in their feelings and instincts. They were nearly unanimous in their devotion to the Union cause in a time of war, and are so yet. They always will be. But in this respect they do not differ from the white people of the South, in the present day, for the Union sentiment is now universal. But the negroes are Southerners, just as the residents of Massachusetts or Connecticut are New Englanders or the inhabitants of Nebraska are western people. As the political issues of the past fade into the distance the negro race will, more and more, act in all public affairs with the leading race with whom their companionship and direct interest belong. With proper encouragement and education the man emancipated from slavery will rise to his proper place in our great American family. But let the nation be just to him as it has been just to the soldiers of the Union.

It is undeniable that the northern people who have organized societies and collected contributions for the betterment of the condition of the southern negroes, have looked to the enlargement of the religious elements, to which the contributors were denominationaly attached, rather than to the elevation of the negro as a man. The negro does not require aid in order that the Methodist church, the Baptist church or any other church may be made numerically strong. He simply stands before the country as a petitioner for justice. Against the law of God and of humanity he has been held in bondage, and a great civil commotion has made him a free man. He is willing to accept all the agencies that the churches may organize for his spiritual advancement, and, as far as his innate piety goes, to extend thanks to the Almighty for a safe guide unto a better life. But at the same time he stands as a suppliant for justice. Over the pages of more than three centuries of American history there has been written the curse of slavery, of which the black man was the cruel victim. His servitude begot that degree of watchful care which is inseparable from self-interest. When the slave was sick he was provided with medical attendance; when he was hungry he was fed; when

his clothes became threadbare, new habits were provided; when the continual strain of drudgery became irksome and detrimental a holiday was given with all the enlivening appendages of jollity and abundant humor. In a word the interest of the master required the creature comfort of his slave to be considered as a matter of prime importance. With emancipation the master's care of self-interest ceased. The government righted a great wrong by turning out the old slave to starve and die!

Instead of devising ways and means to secure the negro in his political rights, if these have ever been invaded, let the government of the United States take steps to habilitate the ex-slave with a sense of personal right which naturally attaches to his condition as a freeman, and to do that a reasonable recompense for the years of toil he suffered as a slave will be an act that will cast off much of this memory of his wrongs and will prove an incentive to the exercise of the duties and responsibilities devolving upon manhood. The man who feels that his government has been just to him is not likely to be inactive when the government points to an honorable service which he can perform in his capacity as a citizen for the honor of his country. Instead of quarreling and wrangling when he approaches the polls to deposit his ballot he will go as an orderly citizen, meeting political friends and antagonists with equal composure and confidence, and with a heartfelt prayer that the best cause may win. It is injustice that breeds bad feeling. A proper recognition of the claims of former slaves for pension by the government will obliterate the last trace of enmity that has resulted from our sad civil commotion and terrible appeal to arms. The North and the South will be a unit again.

In this hastily prepared sketch it has been imperfectly shown that negro slavery was planted upon Americon soil before the colonies had dissolved their dependency upon the British government. It has been shown that the parent government made the institution of slavery a fixture against the wishes of the people of the colonies. It has been sought to be established that the negro, in the days of slavery, was generally a tractable and obedient subject of his lawfully constituted masters. It has been set forth that, when the horrors of civil war began, a very large proportion of the negro slaves of the South felt disposed to espouse the cause of their masters, and many of them voluntarily engaged in acts of war in support of the rebellion. It has been the aim to make manifest the fact that when the black people became

thoroughly apprised that the advance of the Union armies carried with it freedom to the slaves they fell into a support of the Union cause with enthusiasm and stood ready to shed their blood under the stars and stripes. It has been made plain that the government was slow to accept the service of black men as soldiers of the republic, but that they proved themselves equal to the occasion whenever they were allowed to do service, under arms, in their country's cause. It has been proven that many of the race have demonstrated a high order of ability, and that they have made a worthy record in Congress and in the diplomatic and consular service of the government.

What the negro now requires is that kind of recognition which will give him an independence begotten of his former condition as a slave, wherein he performed his part nobly and well, so that his freedom may prove a blessing to future generations instead of an absolute curse. It is not questioned that great encouragement has been given negroes in providing means for their education and placing them in an attitude to assert their rights and do their duty as freemen. But this service to men made free under such circumstances as surrounded the emancipation of southern slaves falls far short of a just recompense to men who suffered generations of servitude in consequence of no sin of their own commission. No act that can now be done will place the old slaves and their descendants in an attitude of equality, before the law, with those white men of the nation to whom the laws once gave the fruits of negro labor and the benefit of negro lives of unrecompensed toil.

It is respectfully submitted to the law-makers of the land that the hour has arrived when the men and women who have been set free without support, and without capital necessary to acquire such support, ought to be cared for. In the name of freedom, thousands, yea millions, were turned away from comfortable homes and sent adrift to provide for themselves. In how many instances were they old and poor? In their humble homes they said, one to another, when they found the blessing of freedom to be a possibility for them and their children, "it surely must be the work of the Lord," and on bended knees many a devout heart prayed earnestly for deliverance. Those same pious souls, when deliverance actually came, returned thanks to heaven for the sense of liberty that pervaded the land and gave assurance to their own hearts that they were free men and women. They asked nothing more of their country in that day than the privilege of eating the bread that supported life with a perfect knowledge that it was

their very own, earned by toil to the fruits whereof no person other than themselves could make a lawful claim. Such a thought was a new sensibility to a people whose lives had been in ceaseless subjection to a master's rule, and they were quite willing to take up the burden of life without a complaint that they had no facilities in their new relations for the making of life enjoyable or even tolerable. But because they accepted freedom with light hearts it cannot be said that the duty the government owes to its wards is any the less sacred, and certainly that duty is not less obligatory after the lapse of a generation in consequence of the long and cruel delay.

The theory is tenable, and will scarcely be questioned, that emancipation resulted as a military necessity rather than as a political or social benefit conferred upon the recipients as a measure of justice and humanity. The slavery to which the negro was subject in ante-bellum days was hereditary, and founded in ancient error of government. But when that same negro became a nominal freeman without provision being made for him to engage in the battle of life on a footing approaching something like equality with others who sell their labor in the general market, in order that they may acquire daily maintenance and reasonable independence, it must be apparent that he would suffer in the unequal contest. He has been kept in a condition of vassalage but little removed from the bondage formerly endured. He has been made the prey of many heartless employers, because of his ignorance of business methods, and of myriads of designing politicians because of his insufficient knowledge of political economy. Give him the means of reasonable independence and half the evils that surround his present condition will be removed. In the bestowment of such a gift the government will only discharge a part of the obligation it owes for having made the negro a subject of taxation, like the beasts of the field, during his years of involuntary servitude.

Since the day of the surrender of Gen. Robert E. Lee at Appomattox, and the consequent knowledge that the freedom of negroes held in slavery before the war was assured by the failure of the Confederate States to maintain their existence as a united government, the question "What duty does the United States owe to the emancipated slaves?" has received much thought and study on the part of the writer. Thoroughly impressed with the idea that the changed condition of freedmen demanded the protecting care of the federal government, it was a source of information to confer with men occupying eminent station in political affairs,

in conversation and by personal correspondence, so as to gather their views on this essential point. Aside from personal interviews a great many statesmen were addressed by letter. Very little satisfaction was imparted by those who were addressed in their replies. In order to make this matter plain the following correspondence is inserted:

FIRST THOUGHTS IN THEIR BEHALF TWENTY YEARS AGO.

In 1870, then a resident of Council Bluffs, Iowa, I was called to Selma, Ala., my former home, to see my sick father, a farmer residing near that city, and while passing through Mississippi, I wrote my wife the following letter:

On the cars in Mississippi, July 10th, 1870.

Mrs. Walter R. Vaughan, Council Bluffs, Iowa.

MY DEAR WIFE:—I am quite tired and it is very hot and dusty riding. I want to see you and our baby boy Walter very much. Will write you a long letter from Selma, Ala. Our cars are filled with former Mississippi slaves. Some have a few dimes to pay fare to the next station, others are forced to beg car fare. But few of them are half dressed. The government should pension these ex-slaves if they would right a great wrong. They formerly had good homes, were well fed, were provided with the best medical attention in sickness, and since their freedom just the reverse has been their portion. I do feel so sorry for the poor unfortunate creatures. I shall feel guilty, as an American, to the crime of enslaving them, until the government has paid them the debt justly due. I will be in Selma at 10 a. m. to-morrow. Write.

Affectionately your husband,

WALTER R. VAUGHAN.

LETTER OF APPEAL.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IA., July 10, 1883.

DEAR SIR: The condition of persons who were once slaves, but were made free by the proclamations of Abraham Lincoln during the late war, and by the reconstruction of the civil governments of the states recently in rebellion, has suggested to my mind that something more should be done for those freedmen than merely declaring their personal liberty. Thousands of them have gone forth from homes of comparative comfort into circumstances of absolute penury. Of course the general declaration of freedom could not be hampered with the widespread conditions of individuals who came within the perview of Mr. Lincoln's proclama-

tion, and hence an unconditional order of emancipation was a necessity and an act of right.

It has occurred to me that the proper thing for the government to do in the premises would be the placing of all ex-slaves upon a civil pension list in a sum sufficient to enable them to live without fear of certain want in their old age. The government has suffered them to be taxed as chattels since its organization, and as such they have contributed directly to the public support. To right a great wrong the government can do no better, it seems to me, than to make them pensioners for the residue of their existence, especially the aged and dependent.

I should be glad to learn your sentiments touching the propriety of the course proposed to be pursued, with any suggestion you may see fit to make in the premises. I have in view an elaborate discussion of the subject in a pamphlet or book. An early reply hereto will greatly oblige,

Yours very truly,

W. R. VAUGHAN.

Among others to whom the foregoing letter was addressed, it was mailed to the Hon. Benjamin Harrison, then a senator from the state of Indiana and now president of the United States. After a delay of something more than a month, the senator wrote as follows from his home in Indianapolis:

(See fac-simile letter on following page.)

UNITED STATES SENATE.

IND'PLS, IND., Aug. 17, 1883.

W. R. Vaughan, Esq., Council Bluffs, Iowa:

DEAR SIR: Your letter in relation to the subject of the wrongs of colored people, and your proposition for national aid for them, has been received. I have not time to make any contribution to the discussion of this subject myself. I will say, however, that I think the most efficient way in which the government can aid the colored people is by some provision in aid of education in the South.

Yours truly,

BENJ. HARRISON.

United States Senate

Indpls Ind
WASHINGTON, D.C. Aug 17 1883

W. R. Vaughn Esq

Council Bluffs Iowa

Dear Sir: Your letter in
relation to the subject of the
wrongs of Colored People and
your proposition for chational
aid for them has been re-
ceived; I have not time to
make any contribution to
the discussion of this subject
myself, I will say however,
that I think the most
efficient way in which
the Government can aid
the Colored People is, some
revision ~~for~~ ⁱⁿ the aid of
~~Colored~~ education in the
South.

Yours truly
B. F. Garrison

It can scarcely be said that Gen. Harrison touched the point at issue. Still his suggestion of educating the freedmen manifested a knowledge of their dependent condition. Unfortunately the major part of the race were much too far advanced in life to become the subjects of school-boy instruction. For the younger ones most of the states have liberally provided school facilities, and it is a pleasure to know that in the main the colored people of the southern states, of the present generation, have enjoyed fair benefits of education.

A letter similar to the above, perhaps an exact copy, was mailed to Senator Preston B. Plumb, of Kansas. That gentleman furnished the following letter in reply:

FAC-SIMILE OF SENATOR PLUMB'S REPLY.

United States Senate,

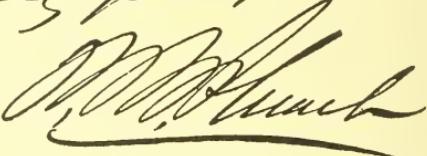
Clayton, Mo., Aug 27

W. R. Vaughan Esq
Council Bluffs, Iowa —
Dear Sir — I am in receipt of
your favor of recent date. Am
not quite prepared to agree
that the pensioning of able bodied
people, who are quite capable
of making a living — at least
until the Govt has fully taken
care of its disabled soldiers.
Whether the bringing of Africans
to America was an advantage
or a disadvantage is one of the
questions about which men
differ & which is quite apart

from the majority of the system under
which they were captured & held
in bondage. It is not necessary
to enter upon this now I express
no opinion — but I think
you will see that if all Govts
are to be held responsible
for all damages of resulting
from the passage & execution of
laws, the unfortunate tax-payer
would be constrained to see
out.

Wish you success in your
undertakings

Respectfully yours,



The suggestion made by Senator Plumb that before any steps shall be taken to provide pensions for "able-bodied people, who are quite capable of making a living," it is the duty of the government first to take care of its disabled soldiers, is scarcely pertinent to the question under discussion. But as the soldiers have been well provided with pensions, especially the unfortunate class who suffered disabilities, there can be no room on that score for withholding from the men who endured years of slavery, without just cause, a recompense for the injustice they suffered for so many years. The further remark of the senator, that "if all governments are to be held responsible for all damages resulting from the passage and execution of laws, the unfortunate tax-payer would

be constrained to sell out," can scarcely have been well considered by him. The laws by which a race of people were enslaved for hundreds of years certainly do not have a place by the side of statutes that have occasioned trivial injuries or losses. Besides, for inconsiderable personal injuries the courts have commonly found means of redress, and the losses suffered have been adjusted in countless instances. For the flagrant wrong of slavery the victims have not been paid one cent.

Another senator whose opinion was sought was the Hon. O. H. Platt, of Connecticut. In answer Senator Platt wrote as follows:

FAC-SIMILE OF SENATOR PLATT'S LETTER.

Long Lake N.Y.

Aug 25 1883

Dear W. R. Vaughan

My dear sir

Your favor of
recent date has been forwarded
me to the place where I am
spending a vacation. You will
excuse me from writing any thing
for publication upon the subject
which you allude. - I cannot
see why the slave now free, should
be pensioned by the government,
but shall read your work of I
have the opportunity with interest
Very truly yours O. H. Platt

It will be plainly seen that neither of the gentlemen, the facsimile of whose letters are given to the public in this volume, appear to have entertained a high admiration for the proposition to pension the ex-slaves. The tenor of their brief comments may properly be interpreted to be adverse to that proposition. Whether the advance of years may have affected an advance in the liberality and justice of their ideas remains to be seen, as they are all in high political station and may have a voice in the settlement of the question now formally submitted to an honest people through their representatives in the law-making branch of the federal government.

Fully seven years having passed away since this great subject was brought to the attention of members of congress, and others eminent in public life, the writer was forced to the conclusion that the only way left open for him to pursue was to prepare a bill setting forth the general purpose sought to be accomplished, and to procure its formal introduction into Congress, in case a senator or representative could be found willing to have his name connected with a just measure having in contemplation a small percentage of the compensation due from a great nation to a part of the human race it had held in slavery by the power of its government, exercised in the enforcement of oppressive laws.

In conversation with the Hon. William J. Connell, representative in the Fifty-first congress from the First District of Nebraska, that gentleman expressed his willingness to introduce the required bill and to take care of all correspondence that might come in his hands in consequence of such introduction. The writer esteems himself fortunate in having secured the help of Congressman Connell, which was accorded cheerfully. It is a pleasure to be able to say that Mr. Connell belongs to that class of public men who appreciate their relation to their constituents and who fulfill every respectable service required at their hands with assiduity if not real pleasure. In this instance the writer is happy in the belief that Mr. Connell is in full sympathy with the spirit of the measure he has laid before the House of Representatives, and will do all that lies in his power to secure for it a fair consideration.

The bill presented by Mr. Connell was drafted by the writer (W. R. Vaughan, editor of the Omaha Daily Democrat and president of the Democrat Publishing Company), and the full text of the measure is as follows:

A BILL for an Act to provide pensions for freedmen released from involuntary servitude, and to afford aid and assistance for certain persons released, that they may be maintained in old age.

Prepared by W. R. Vaughan of Omaha, and introduced by Hon. W. J. Connell, M. C. from the First Nebraska District, by request.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

SECTION 1. That all persons released from involuntary servitude, commonly called slaves, in pursuance of the proclamation of ex-president Abraham Lincoln, dated respectively September 22, 1862, and January 1, 1863, and in pursuance of amendments to the constitutions of the several states wherein slavery or involuntary servitude formerly existed, recognized by the federal constitution and laws of the United States, or by any law, proclamation, decree or device whereby persons once held as slaves or involuntary subjects, in consequence of race or color, or federal or state recognition of involuntary servitude, except for the commission of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and hereby are made pensioners upon the bounty of the United States, and also such persons as may be charged by laws of consanguinity with the maintenance and support of freedmen who are unable by reason of age or disease to maintain themselves.

SEC. 2. Any person who may have been held as a slave or involuntary servant under and by reason of any law of the United States, or in consequence of any device or custom prevailing within such states or the United States, except for the commission of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and who shall have been released from such servitude in manner before stated, and who shall at the date of the passage of this act have reached the age of seventy years shall be entitled to and receive the sum of \$500 from the treasury of the United States, hereby authorized to be paid out of any moneys not otherwise appropriated, and to the sum of \$15 per month during the residue of their natural lives. This provision shall apply to male and female alike. And all persons so released from servitude who shall be less than seventy years of age and of the age of sixty years or over, shall be entitled to receive the sum of \$300, and also \$12 per month until they shall reach the age of seventy years, when they shall be entitled to and receive the greater sum hereinbefore stated as a monthly payment. And all persons released from servitude as before stated who shall be less than sixty years old and of the age of fifty years or over shall be entitled to and receive the sum of \$100 and also \$8 per month, until sixty years old, when they shall receive \$12. And all persons released from servitude as before stated who shall be less than fifty years of age, shall be entitled to and receive \$4 per month until fifty years old, when they shall receive eight dollars. All moneys herein authorized to be paid shall be dispensed from the general funds of the treasury, not otherwise appropriated.

SEC. 3. Relations or others who may be charged with the support of aged or infirm persons released from involuntary servitude, in manner aforesaid, shall be entitled to and receive the monthly pension awarded to such aged or infirm persons in whole or in part upon showing to the satisfaction of the secretary of the interior that such support is afforded in a humane and becoming manner, the amount of such payment being under the control and direction of the secretary aforesaid.

SEC. 4. The secretary of the interior shall have power to prepare all needful rules and regulations for the carrying into effect of the provisions of this act according to the true intent and meaning thereof, and to designate proper officers or agents through whom freedmen and other persons may make application for payment and receive moneys authorized to be paid by the provisions of this act.

SEC. 5. All needful rules and regulations for the carrying into effect

of the provisions of this act shall be approved by congress before the takeng into effect thereof.

SEC. 6. The compensation of agents charged with the enforcement of this law shall be recommended by the secretary of the interior and approved by congress.

SEC. 7. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after the first day of January, A. D. 1891.

The "Freedmen's Pension Bill," as it may be properly called, was introduced in the house of representatives June 24, 1890. It was read twice (which appears to be the custom) and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. The following telegram was received as soon as the bill was introduced:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 24, 1890.

Hon. W. R. Vaughan:

Your slave pension bill introduced and referred. Will send you copies as soon as printed. W. J. CONNELL.

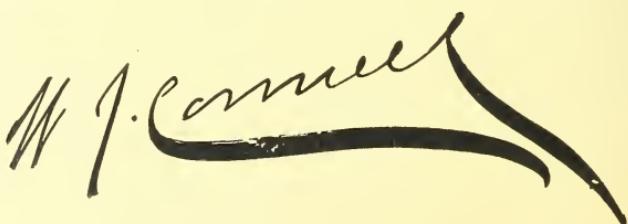
Congressman Connell's attention was immediately called to the fact that the bill should have been referred to the Committee on Pensions, and the following letter was promptly received:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES U. S., }
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 17, 1890. }

Hon. W. R. Vaughan:

DEAR SIR: I have before me your letter of the 8th instant acknowledging receipt of the copies of your Freedman's Bill, which I recently forwarded to you. You are correct in the statement that the bill has erroneously been referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions. As you say, it should have been referred to the Committee on Pensions. I will at once have a change of reference made. As soon as this is done I will have a request made by the committee, in accordance with your suggestion, that the Secretary of the Interior furnish an estimate as to the probable cost to the government in carrying out the provisions of the bill. I will forward to you any references to the bill which I consider may be of special interest to you.

Very truly yours,



Of course there is a disposition to make light of this proposition in view of the "vast expense," according to the criticism of public prints. That expense will be less than 33 per cent. of the cost to the government of the great civil war, and from that heavy debt the country is emerging at the rate of \$140,000,000 a year. Already the millionaires, and men of control in wealthy banking institutions, are howling at the prospect of the early payment of the national debt and there being left no means behind whereupon bonds may be predicated for the continuance of their pet institutions. It is respectfully suggested that justice to the negro might prove a panacea for the woes they have in such serious contemplation. What a pity it would be to let the poor millionaires fail of an opportunity to turn an honest penny.

THE CAUSE IS JUST.

Many of the metropolitan newspapers are owned by millionaires and they have attempted to burlesque the bill, claiming that the money requiring to pension the ex-slaves would bankrupt the government, etc. But hundreds of letters have been received by Mr. Connell and the author of the bill commanding it as a measure of justice. As Congressman Connell expressed himself in the following letter on the subject of the cause being just, we take the liberty of reproducing his letter:

(See fac-simile of letter on following page.)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.

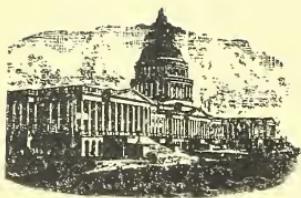
WASHINGTON, July 5th, 1890.

Hon. W. R. Vaughan:

DEAR SIR: The enclosed is a specimen of many letters I have received regarding the bill to provide pensions for freedmen, etc., which I recently introduced at your request. In making response to such letters, and in interviews with representatives of the press desiring information regarding the bill, I have always made mention of the fact that you were the author of the bill, and that I introduced it at your request. As previously stated, this I will make appear in the Record in due time. You are entitled to full credit of both suggesting and preparing the bill. Its provisions have occasioned much comment and some criticism; but who cares for the latter when the cause is just?

Very truly yours,

W. J. CONNELL.



House of Representatives U.S.
Washington,

July 5th 1890

Mr W. R. Vaughan,
Dear Sirs

The enclosed is
a specimen of many letters
I have received regarding
the Bill to provide pensions
for freedmen etc. which I
recently introduced at your
request. In making response
to such letters and in interviews
with representatives of the freed
desiring information regarding
the Bill I have always made

mention of the fact that you were the author of the Bill and that I introduced it at your request. As previously stated, this I will make appear in the Record in due time.

You are entitled to full credit of both suggesting and preparing the bill. Its passage has ^{occurred} ~~occurred~~ much comment and some criticism. But who cares for the latter when the cause is just.

Very truly yours,
W. J. Connell

The specimen letter to which Mr. Connell made reference in the foregoing communication was from Benjamin O. Jones, Esq., a gentleman of prominence in Southern Illinois, and was couched in the following terms:

METROPOLIS, ILL., June 27, 1890.

Hon. W. J. Connell, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: Allow me to congratulate you upon being the first man, in Congress, to take the initial step towards an act of justice to the ex-slaves of our country. Many thousands of slaves were thrown upon their own resources as a result of the war, and at a period of life when they were unable to learn the great problem of how to win bread. They have for years—those who survived—eked out a wretched existence at the hands of charity, unable to learn how to make a living. Many still survive in poverty, the inmates of our poor houses and other charitable institutions, or go among us as gaunt images of famine, a reproach to the government that made them freemen. Their condition was made wretched by the act of emancipation. They were taken away from abundance and turned out of their homes to starve. They helped

to develop the resources and wealth of this country, and they ought to enjoy some of its blessings. They should not be allowed to fill paupers' graves or to seek at the hands of charity the commonest necessities of life. I am a white man, was raised in the slave state of Kentucky, and I desire to thank you for your noble courage and humanity in presenting this bill, in this prominent manner, to the consideration of the Congress of the United States.

Who would not prefer the dangers of a soldier's life to the torturing immolation of a life of slavery? Let us pension the old ex-slaves. I have advocated it on the stump, and I congratulate you that your position enables you to speak to more people and with greater effect. Please send me a copy of your bill.

Truly and sincerely,

BENJ. O. JONES.

Hundreds of letters from the white and colored citizens of the South have also been received, and the following is a fair sample of the southern sentiment as to "Vaughan's Freedmen's Pension Bill," for which reason it is reproduced:

SOUTHERN SENTIMENT.

SHERILL, ARK., July 12, 1890.

W. R. Vaughan, Esq., Editor and President Omaha Democrat:

DEAR SIR: By accident, one of your valuable papers has fallen into my hands. Though, I guess, from the name, it is democratic in polities, yet it has the true ring of right and justice. I herein enclose subscription for daily and Sunday for one month, and intend to take it longer. I am a true blue republican, a colored man and an ex-slave. I am truly glad to see that there is *one* democrat that is a true friend from his heart to the negro that has been for years imposed upon. As for myself, I care not whether I get a cent from the government or not, as I was liberated when quite young, and am hale and hearty and able to take care of "me and mine." But justice should be done to the older ones, at least, who were turned loose at an old age, without education, homes or money, and broken down in health, unable to make a support, thrown upon the charity of a cold world—paupers. You and Congressman Connell, of your state, have enlisted in a humane and commendable cause. Whether you succeed or not, your names will be revered by the dusky sons of Africa as true friends of our race. The news of such a measure pensioning ex-slaves has spread among them like wildfire, and they are now

watching with eager eyes, and listening with attentive ears, to see who their friends are, whether democrats or republicans. Both parties tell us that they are our friends. Well, we will wait and see. We will watch their votes. Now is the time and opportunity to prove friendship. The democratic party should vote for the measure, not because the negro is its ally, for he is not, but because it is right and just. The republicans should support it for the same reasons, except the negro has been with *them* ever since Mr. Lincoln's proclamation.

The southern congressmen should support the bill for another reason beside justice, but because nine-tenths of the money will come south, and as most all of the merchants and land owners in the south are whites, of course it will circulate amongst them. But we fear that for this reason my party (the republican) will defeat it. We hope not. In this matter of right and justice both parties should put themselves on record *unanimously* in favor of the bill.

Yours, S. P. HAVIS.

The letters of Mr. Jones and S. P. Havis given above in full are inserted in these pages rather than any of the very many others which have been written upon the subject of the Freedmen's Pension Bill. They commend Congressman Connell, who has taken the initiative in the work of justice towards an impoverished race, in his character as a representative of the people, and by Mr. Connell referred to the writer of these pages. The fact is fully appreciated by the writer that courage, determination, and very possibly the expenditure of a good deal of money will be necessary in order to accomplish the great task now self-assumed. The aid of such a man as W. J. Connell, and of others who will give to him their confidence and support, will assist in the accomplishment of a work of reformation in governmental abuse which now warps the American character, as an avowed exponent of full and complete justice towards all men. The words of commendation spoken and written to the author of the Freedmen's Pension Bill, would fill a fair sized volume; but the publication of all of these would be but a repetition, in substance, of the candid words and views expressed in the communications of Mr. Jones and Mr. Havis.

If the writer could appeal to the better sentiment of the persons who make up the Commons of Great Britain, and to the men of liberal sentiment in that country, he would appeal to them to give their encouragement to an enterprise looking to a decent compensation to the sons and daughters of the race of human

beings who were forced upon English colonists as slaves, years and years before American freedom from British domination was contemplated by even the most far-seeing and resolute of the American people. But such an appeal would probably be in vain. To the emancipated men and women of the recent slave states, however, it may be well enough to say: "Bear in remembrance the fact that you were not made slaves by the will of the people of the states that held you in bondage from your birth to the day of your liberation. You came to those people by inheritance. The institution of slavery was planted, nurtured and grew into power in American states under the authority and domination of the English nation when that power owned and ruled this land."

PROGRESS OF ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT.

In another part of this volume it has been shown that the original importation of slaves into North America was the work of British merchants and traders, who forced the institution of slavery upon the colonies in violation of the protests of the colonists, who were averse to the establishment of the institution of slavery in their midst. Recurrence is had to this historical fact with a view of showing that there has always been a strong and able sentiment in opposition to the institution of human slavery; and that its apologists have been influenced by considerations of personal interest, coupled with an inability to make free the slaves, and to settle suitable provision for their sustenance upon the subjects of emancipation when made by masters to such as constituted their personal estate under the laws of those states where they severally resided.

From the best records obtainable it appears that British adventurers first engaged in the Importation of African slaves in the year 1562, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and that the scheme was undertaken for mercenary purposes. After Sir John Hawkins had made a profitable trip between the coast of Africa and the West India Islands, his monarch sent for him and upbraided him for engaging in an inhuman traffic; one that was "detestable" and would certainly "call down the vengeance of heaven." Although promising his queen not again to engage in a traffic in human flesh, he once more made a successful voyage to Africa, and returned with a cargo of negroes who were impressed into slavery. Hill's Naval History tells us of Sir John Hawkins' second expedition, that "here began the horrid practice of forcing Africans into slavery, an injustice and barbarity which, so sure as

there is a vengeance in heaven for the worst of crimes, will some time be the destruction of all who allow or encourage it."

For two hundred years the slave trade was continued as a source of profit, and in the mean time it became firmly rooted upon the territory of the English colonies, and also upon the soil in possession of the governments of France and Spain. During all this period there were brave men who fought the iniquity with valor and determination. But like prudent men they did not seek to turn the world upside down at a single stroke. They directed their efforts, first towards the suppression of the slave trade, next to the prohibition of slavery extension upon free territory, and finally to the direction of the abolition of the institution itself.

Among the early enemies of the slave trade, and incidentally of human slavery, may be reckoned Richard Baxter, the author of Baxter's *Saints' Rest*, and other works of a christian and devotional character, who published a periodical known as the "Negro and Indian Advocate." In the columns of his paper he took the ground that they who go out as pirates and take away African subjects or the people of any other land, who have never forfeited life or liberty, and make them slaves and sell them, are the worst of robbers, and ought to be considered as the common enemies of mankind. He went further and declared that they who buy them and use them as mere beasts for their own convenience, regardless of their spiritual welfare, are fitter to be called demons than christians.

At a later day Dr. Primatt published a lecture entitled a "Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy," in which that eminent divine spoke of the institution of African slavery in the following scathing terms: "It has pleased God to cover some men with white skins and others with black; but as there is neither merit nor demerit in complexion, the white man, notwithstanding the barbarity of custom and prejudice, can have no right by virtue of his color to enslave and tyrannize over the black man. For whether a man be white or black, such he is by God's appointment, and abstractly considered, is neither a subject for pride nor an object of contempt."

In 1735 Dr. Atkins, a surgeon in the British navy, published an account of a voyage made by him to Guinea, on the west coast of Africa, and thence to the West Indies and Brazil. He describes vividly the methods pursued by slave dealers of sup-

plying their vessels with their cargoes of human freight, by kidnapping, by false accusations and pretended trials, and every nefarious device known to avarice and cupidity. In his account he details the cruelties practiced upon the native Africans by white men, who were British slave traders; and he proceeds, while exposing their cruelty, to answer their staple argument, by which they maintained that the condition of the Africans was improved by their transportation to other countries.

Edmund Burke, the famous British statesman, in his account of the European settlements planted in America, placed upon record his observation that "the negroes in our colonies endure a slavery more complete, and attended with far worse circumstances, than what any people in their condition suffer in any other part of the world, or have suffered in any other period of time."

In the year 1766 Bishop Warburton preached a sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in which he dealt with slavery and the slave trade with an unsparing hand. He said: "From the free savages (the Indian tribes) I now come to the savages in bonds. By these I mean the vast multitudes yearly stolen from the opposite continent, and sacrificed by the colonists to their great idol, the god of gain. But what says these worshipers of Mammon? 'They are our own property which we offer up!' Gracious God! To talk, as of herds of cattle, of rational creatures, endowed with all our faculties, possessing all our qualities but that of color, our brethren both by nature and grace, shocks all the feelings of humanity, and the dictates of common sense. But alas! what is there in the abuse of society which does not shock them? Yet nothing is more certain in itself, and apparent to all, than that the infamous traffic in slaves directly infringes both divine and human law. Nature created man free, and grace invites him to assert his freedom. In excuse for this violation it has been pretended that though these miserable outcasts of humanity have been torn from their homes and native country by fraud and violence, yet they thereby become the happier, and their condition more eligible. But who are you, who pretend to judge of another man's happiness? Of that state which each man, under the guidance of his Maker, forms for himself, and not one man for another? To know what constitutes mine or your happiness is the sole prerogative of Him who created us and cast us in so various and different moulds. Did your slaves ever complain to you of their unhappiness amidst their native woods and deserts? Or rather let me ask, did they ever

cease complaining of their condition under you, their lordly masters, where they see indeed the accommodations of civil life but see them pass to others, themselves unbefitted by them? Be so gracious, then, ye petty tyrants over human freedom, to let your slaves judge for themselves, what it is that makes their own happiness, and see if they do not place it in their return to their own country, rather than in the contemplation of your grandeur, of which their misery makes so large a part; a return so passionately longed for, that despairing of happiness here, that is, of escaping the chains of their cruel task-masters, they console themselves with feigning it to be the gracious reward of heaven in their future state."

Besides the captive Africans who were brought direct from their native shores to become serfs in the New World there were divers ways in which the institution of slavery was promulgated and fastened upon the pioneer settlers of nearly all the lands in the western hemisphere. To follow in detail these methods would be to write a volume equal in extent to the Holy Scriptures. But through all the vicissitudes of the poor negroes, who were constantly made the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the white race, as the settlements of North and South America and adjacent islands increased, there were heard the voices of good men protesting against the wrong of slavery in the abstract and the horrors of the slave trade in particular. Among the noble men of England who interested themselves in their day for the betterment of the condition of the slaves, who became conspicuous by their determined opposition to the slave trade, may be mentioned Granville Sharp, who was instrumental, in 1772, in carrying the case of a slave, taken by his master from Jamaica to England, before the court of the Kings Bench, and there procured the decision of the judges "that as soon as ever any slave set his foot upon English territory he became free." Immediately after the trial Mr. Sharp wrote to Lord North, then principal minister of state, warning him, in the most earnest manner, to abolish immediately both the trade and the slavery of the human species in all the British dominions, as utterly irreconcilable with the principles of the British constitution and the established religion of the land.

Another powerful advocate of the national rights of man, appertaining to the black as well as the white race, appeared in the person of John Wesley, the celebrated divine. In 1774 this pious man took up the cause of the enslaved African race. He

had been to America and had seen and pitied the hard condition of the slaves within the colonies of the mother country. He published a work entitled "Thoughts on Slavery," which exerted a salutary influence upon the public mind in riviting the conviction that slavery was wrong, the slave trade abominable and that both ought to be exterminated.

The Quakers of America early manifested a deep and compassionate feeling towards slaves within the American colonies, although many of them became possessed of slave property upon their settlement in this country. But it must be said of them that they treated their slaves with great kindness. Notwithstanding their mildness toward them, and the consequent content of the slaves themselves, some of the society began to entertain doubts in regard to the right of holding negroes in bondage at all. Almost a century before the visit of John Wesley to America some of the German Quakers, who had followed William Penn to America, urged in the yearly meeting of Pennsylvania, the inconsistency of buying, selling and holding man in slavery, with the principles of the Christian religion. At a later date the yearly meeting for that province took up the subject as a public concern, with the result that the society declared against the future importations of African slaves, and the members were charged to be particularly attentive to the spiritual and temporal welfare of those held in possession. For a series of years this solicitude was renewed in the annual meetings, in fact being continued until the institution of slavery had practically disappeared within the province of Pennsylvania.

In the year 1772 a favorable disposition towards the condition of the slaves became manifest in several of the colonies. The House of Burgesses of Virginia of that year presented a petition to the King of Great Britain beseeching his majesty to remove all those restraints on his governors of that colony which forbade their assent to such laws as might check that inhuman and impolitic commerce—the slave trade. It is a remarkable fact that the refusal of the British government to permit the colonists to exclude slaves from among them by law, was afterwards enumerated by Thomas Jefferson among the public reasons for separating from the mother country after the war of the revolution had broken out.

In Mr. Jefferson's "Correspondence," there appears a fac-simile of a portion of the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, which was stricken out of that document when it was

adopted in committee. The gentlemen selected in congress to prepare a formal document setting forth reasons why the colonies should become free and independent states, were John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston. To Mr. Jefferson was assigned the important duty of preparing the form of the declaration. In his draft, submitted to the whole committee, appears the following:

He (King George III. of England) has waged civil war against human nature itself, violating the most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain; determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce; and, that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he has obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes, committed against the liberties of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.

It does not appear in Mr. Jefferson's works why the foregoing indictment against the English crown was stricken from the immortal declaration, or which member of the committee moved its expurgation. His wish not to reflect upon any of his co-patriots in an hour of emergency no doubt prevented any personal reference to men on that solemn occasion. But all Americans know, and the world knows, that Thomas Jefferson was a sincere devotee of personal as well as collective liberty, and when he penned that other great truth, which stands in the Declaration of Independence as accepted, approved and signed in the Colonial Congress, that "all men are born equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," he meant the negro slave to be included side by side with the white master, whose freedom was acknowledged by all the world.

The facts set forth in this narrative amply demonstrate that there was a strong sentiment both in Europe and America looking to the curtailment of the slave power, which readily found expression in the Declaration of Independence, though not in the positive form that Mr. Jefferson desired. It is, however, enough to know that when the cradle of American freedom was rocked our patriot forefathers gave utterance to sentiments respecting universal liberty that included all races of men regardless of color.

From that day to the present there have been earnest men who have contended sincerely for the abridgment of slavery in every land.

Soon after the close of the revolutionary war the efforts of Wilberforce and the noble men who agreed with him in opinion secured the settled opposition of Great Britain to the continuance of the African slave trade. The adoption of the Constitution of the United States was the direct means of prohibiting the lawful introduction of impressed slaves into this country, and of putting an estoppel upon the trade altogether after 1808.

In the mean time President Jefferson concluded negotiations with Napoleon Bonaparte whereby the territory of Louisiana was purchased, which included nearly all the territory belonging to the United States, after the date of the purchase, lying west of the Mississippi river that gave early promise of seeking statehood within the Union. The cession of the Northwest Territory to the United States had been accompanied by an agreement in the congress of the confederation prior to the adoption of the constitution that such territory might be erected into seventeen states, when the population would admit of the formation of new states. Mr. Jefferson was chairman of the committee charged with framing an ordinance for the government of this vast area ; and during the session of 1784 he reported such an ordinance which contained the following rule:

That after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been convicted to be personally guilty.

The rule was not then adopted, but in the last congress of the confederation Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, reported an ordinance, July 11, 1787, for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio river, in which the Jeffersonian interdiction of slavery was repeated, and it then received concurrence. All the great northwest was thereafter dedicated to freedom and became free soil.

It naturally follows that when the Louisiana purchase was made there was a strong feeling manifested to extend the Jeffersonian proviso to that territory. Unfortunately slavery existed therein before the purchase, and it could not be eradicated. But the agitation continued; and when the inhabitants of Missouri formed a state government, the same being a part of the Louisiana purchase, and applied for admission into the Union, during the month of March, 1818, the fact that the constitution of the new state recog-

nized slavery caused the beginning of a fierce agitation which continued with more or less violence for nearly half a century. Missouri was not successful in her application at that time. In the next Congress, November 16, 1820, Missouri again knocked for admission. The debate that ensued was long, fierce and acrimonious; but it was finally terminated February 27, 1821, by the admission of Missouri in pursuance of a compromise, which provided that in the erection of future new states those lying north of the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$ should be free states, and those lying south of that parallel might be free or slave as the people should elect.

The acceptance of the Missouri Compromise settled the status of slavery extension for thirty years. In 1850, when California applied for admission, the whole question of slavery extension was opened up, and with reference to the territory acquired from Mexico at the conclusion of the war with that government. Four years later the formation of territorial governments for Kansas and Nebraska revived the anti-slavery agitation with great bitterness. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise fired the northern heart to an extent that was not quieted again. The agitation was continued unceasingly and finally culminated in the election of Abraham Lincoln on a platform opposed to the acceptance of additional slave states in the Union. The civil war followed, and afterwards emancipation followed as a natural result.

The purpose of this imperfect review has been to show that there has always been an able and educated element in this country opposed to the bondage and oppression of the negro race, and that throughout the vicissitudes in the career of the black man as a slave, he has had powerful and eloquent champions, pleading with earnestness and fervor for his release from the galling chains of involuntary servitude. At last the day of freedom dawned in an unforeseen and inexplicable manner. It came amidst the crash of systems that had been maintained in this land for three hundred years. It came in the din, the smoke and the carnage of battle. It came in a torrent of human blood, and through the havoc of mighty armies. It came as the will of Almighty God who selected this devastating agency to let the oppressed go free.

It is scarcely necessary to say that thousands of the men of the South would have willingly emancipated their slaves long years before the tocsin of war was sounded, but they were deterred therefrom in consequence of their pecuniary inability to set them up in life and make suitable provision for their maintenance in the first months or years of their struggle for existence. When emancipa-

tion was confirmed in the dread circumstance of war and subjugation, there was nothing to do but to accept the inevitable, and to recognize the fact that human slavery was a doomed institution for all the years of coming time. The men and women who were baptized in blood unto freedom went forth owing allegiance to none.

While blessing the day that has wiped out the curse of slavery from the escutcheon of our fair land, it is sad to contemplate that the wards of the nation are in a worse state to-day, so far as the personal comfort of thousands and tens of thousands of them are concerned, than they were in the days of their servitude. This is especially true of the old and infirm. In the hope that the government, which our fathers created and their sons here preserved, will dare to be just in defiance of obloquy, prejudice and ridicule, this humble appeal is made to those in place and power, for justice to the race that has been liberated from bondage, only that they may live in want and misery and die at last in nakedness and distress. Let the government be just. Generosity is not asked nor sought. Do what is right, and let the world know that the stars and stripes constitute the emblem of a nation that has the courage to correct the errors of ages. Let the spirit of the Vaughan ex-slave pension bill become the law of the land.

As a fitting finale to this petition for the rights of the slaves of olden days the following editorial from the columns of the *Omaha Daily Democrat*, of Sunday, August 13, 1890, is copied. W. R. Vaughan is president of the Democrat Publishing Company.

BE JUST AND FEAR NOT.

There are plainly those in political as well as in journalistic life who fear to discuss with fairness the provisions of Vaughan's Freedmen's Pension bill; and all such seek to underrate its importance by the idle declaration that it is a temporary expedient in government policy that will die under the breath of ridicule. A half century ago the same flimsy excuse for an argument was used by the public press and by political orators when James G. Birney entered the political arena as the candidate of the liberty party for the presidency. It was asserted that the meager support which Mr. Birney received in 1840—he had but little more than 7,000 votes in all the states—would deter the Garrison school of abolitionists from making another exhibition of their weakness, and that they would be glad to retire from public view never to expose themselves to familiar gaze again. But alas for human expectation when based upon nothing at all! The movement inaugurated by Birney, Garrison and their compatriots had substantial merit, and it gained accessions as the cause was discussed. In 1844 James G. Birney was again a presidential candidate and in that year he was given 62,000 votes, being considerably more than

the plurality which James K. Polk received over Henry Clay. The liberty party began to be a noticeable feature in the affairs of the nation.

In 1848 Van Buren and Adams, under the name and guise of the free-soil party, received 291,000 votes in the several states. This was merely the old abolition party under a new name. The antipathy against the institution of slavery continued to spread, and finally culminated in the success of the republican party and in the emancipation of the slaves under the influences of a condition of war. Less than a quarter of a century after Birney and Garrison flung the banner of universal freedom to the breeze the institution of slavery had ceased to exist in the length and breadth of our fair land.

History, as Mr. Lincoln once said, is merely repeating itself. The demand for pensions in behalf of the former subjects of slavery is so fair and just that no opposition to the fundamental idea can weaken its merit; and attempts at ridicule will only give it a firmer hold upon the sense of justice entertained by a fair-minded people. In the face of weak pretension toward expression of contempt it will grow by day and by night until it has taken such deep root in the public mind that the law-making power of the United States will be glad to give it heed and obedience. In the poetic language of Charles Mackey it will become

“THE VOICE OF THE TIMES.”

“ Day unto day uttereth speech—

Be wise, oh ye nations, and hear

What yesterday telleth to-day—

What to-day to-morrow will preach.

A change cometh over the sphere,

And the old goeth down to-day.

A new light hath dawned on the darkness of yore,
And men shall be slaves and oppressors no more.

“ Hark to the throbbing of thought

In the breast of the wakening world;

Over land, over sea it hath come.

The serf that was yesterday bought,

To-day his defiance hath hurled—

No more is his slavery dumb—

He's broken away from the fetters that bind,
And he lifts a bold arm for the rights of mankind.

“ The voice of opinion hath grown—

’Twas yesterday changeful and weak—

Like the voice of a boy in his prime.

To-day it hath taken the tone

Of an orator, worthy to speak—

Who knows the demand of his time!

To-morrow 'twill sound in the nation's dull ear
Like the trump of a seraph to startle our sphere.

“ Be wise, oh ye rulers of earth!

And shut not your ears to his voice,

Nor allow it to warn you in vain.

True Freedom, of yesterday's birth,

Will march on its way and rejoice,

And never be conquered again.

This day hath a tongue—aye, the hours have speech—
Wise, wise will ye be if ye learn what they teach.”

A question has arisen as to the history and character of the man who is willing to devote his time and means to the promulgation of a law that will do justice to the negro, without fee or reward to himself. That man is not ashamed of his name or of his public record, as far as he has one.

The following biographical sketch of

WALTER RALEIGH VAUGHAN

was published in the Omaha Daily Democrat of Sunday, June 20, 1890.

Since the appearance of the article given to the public last Sunday morning, proposing a pension to freedmen restored to liberty from a former condition of involuntary servitude, a large number of letters have been received from all quarters of the union, asking concerning the antecedents of ex-Mayor Vaughan and requesting a statement of the manner of man he is. In answer to these interrogatories a brief biographical sketch is given and a portrait of the man.

Walter Raleigh Vaughan was born in Petersburgh, Va., May 12, 1848. His parents moved to Montgomery, Ala., when the subject of this sketch was about one year old. His mother died in his second year, and at her request the babe was sent to reside with an uncle in North Carolina, the Rev. R. C. Maynard, who was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal persuasion. At the age of thirteen years young Vaughan returned to his father's home in Alabama.

From his early boyhood Mr. Vaughan became interested in labor and economic questions growing out of the condition of the laboring classes, upon whom his young eyes were naturally turned, white and black alike. Perhaps his first effort in the direct interest of the negro slave was made when, as a half-grown lad, he appealed to his father to give the negroes in bondage the half or the whole of Saturday of each week, to be used as his own time for private work or personal recreation. In all the later avocations of life Mr. Vaughan has contributed time and money whenever any important movement has been on the tapis in promoting the movements and wishes of the working classes. As an official and as a newspaper publisher, as well as in the private walks of life, he has advocated and aided the cause of labor and the aims of the men who have earned their own subsistence.

At the close of the war of the rebellion young Vaughan entered the Crittenden commercial college of Philadelphia, where he received a business education. He then took up his residence at St. Joseph, Mo., from whence he came to Omaha early in 1868 and booked himself as a guest of the old Herndon house at the foot of Farnam street, now the headquarters of the Union Pacific railway company. After a brief sojourn he located at Council Bluffs, Iowa, where he opened a business college. In that city, May 12, 1869, being the twenty-first anniversary of his birth, he was united in marriage with Miss Delia De Vol, daughter of one of the oldest residents.

In March, 1881, Mr. Vaughan was elected mayor of Council Bluffs, running as the regular democratic candidate, by a majority of thirty-six

votes. In the meantime he had been actively engaged in business, a portion of it devoted to journalism, for which profession he has always had a penchant. In 1884 he was again elected mayor over a strong competitor by a majority of 538 votes. While serving as mayor, Gov. Larrabee, of Iowa duly appointed and commissioned him as one of the state curators, which position he resigned to remove to Omaha.

During Mayor Vaughan's first term in the mayoralty an unprecedented flood occurred in the Missouri river and all the lowlands were flooded and many families ruined by the devastation. Mayor Vaughan came to their rescue, had them gathered in boats from their flooded quarters and had them provided with food and other necessaries. As his term was about expiring, the well-remembered strikes were taking place in Omaha, wherein an old man named Armstrong was bayoneted by a soldier without cause or provocation. Mayor Vaughan at once sent a letter of condolence to the widow, together with a warranty deed to a residence lot in Council Bluffs, where the lady could make her home after her cruel bereavement.

During the second term of his mayoralty, in company with Mr. Thomas Officer, steps were taken to establish the Thompson-Houston electric light system in Council Bluffs, the twain being sole owners. Later on, with Mr. J. C. Regan for a partner, Mr. Vaughan secured a charter and established the electric light system of Omaha. His whole life has been checkered with business enterprises, having their ups and downs, but through all Mayor Vaughan has been steadfast in his adherence to the rights of the working classes.

After retiring from the mayoralty of Council Bluffs, Mr. Vaughan resumed his residence in Omaha, in which city he has had the general control and management of the *Omaha Daily Democrat*. In his capacity as a journalist he has now revived a project conceived by him years ago to have congress grant proper pensions to ex-slaves, whose early lives were made the subject of barter by citizens and taxation by the government. On this subject he carried on an extensive correspondence with public men seven years ago. Among them with President Harrison, who was then a senator from Indiana. None of the parties addressed appeared to view the project with favor. But, steadfast in his faith and in his belief in what he has conceived to be right, Mr. Vaughan proposes to go on in the line marked out until justice shall be done to a downtrodden people. It is only a question of time when his efforts shall succeed. An era different from being made the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for designing politicians is about to dawn upon the oppressed negro race. It will be an era of substantial prosperity.

As to the personality of W. R. Vaughan, it may be added that he was not a soldier during the late war, being then too young to bear arms. His father and three brothers were, however, gallant soldiers in the southern army. After the war of the rebellion had closed, his elder brother, Vernon H. Vaughan, was made secretary of Utah territory, at the request of Robert M. Douglas (son of the great Stephen A. Douglas), then private secretary of President Grant, and later United States marshal in North Carolina. The appointment was made by President Grant. When Gov. Shafer, of Utah, died, the president telegraphed the appointment of V. H. Vaughan to fill the vacancy without waiting to be officially informed that

an appointment was required. Governor Vaughan died in later years in California. Mr. W. R. Vaughan is now in his 40d year, is the father of five sons and three daughters, all healthy, handsome children, and they are heart and soul with their father in his work for justice.

It is proper to say that since arriving at man's estate W. R. Vaughan has devoted much time and money in the upbuilding of benevolent and fraternal institutions. He was Noble Grand Arch of the United Ancient Order of Druids for the State of Iowa, and Grand Prelate of the Knights of Pythias organization for the same state, and he gave years of his best work to increase the powers and benefits of Odd Fellowship in the west, having been a patriarch since the age of 21 years.

Mr. Vaughan has a surviving brother, Alonzo Vaughan, now residing near Selma, Alabama. He has large landed interests in that vicinity and also conducts a mercantile business.

Let the writer make a closing appeal to the Christian people and the Benevolent orders of the United States by asking you to read

WHY THE FREEDMEN'S PENSION BILL SHOULD BECOME A LAW.

1. It will be a measure of recognition of the inhumanity practiced by the government in the holding, for a century, of men and women as slaves in defiance of human right.

2. It will be a slight recompense to emancipated freemen for the error of the government in permitting slavery to exist on the soil of a people whose fundamental idea is the liberty of the citizen.

3. It will afford to foreign nations a complete refutation of the sentiment, often advanced, that American Freedom has been merely a disguised form of tyranny whereof human slavery was an exemplification.

4. It will manifest to the civilized world the important truth that the Sons of the Fathers of the Republic associate liberty and justice together as inseparable in the administration of a government of the people.

5. It will afford a guaranty to other nations, struggling for popular independence, that the real strength of a free people lies in their ability to do right at all times and under all circumstances.

6. It will add to the material wealth of a great nation by giving to persons having a claim *de jure* against the government to put themselves in a position of complete equality before the law with other citizens whose personal rights have not been circumscribed.

7. It will enable an impoverished race, reduced to penury through no fault of their own, to place themselves in a position of

reasonable independence in their struggle for existence and recognition in general business affairs.

8. It will add to the national wealth of a productive section of the Union by enabling an important factor of its population to pursue business without constant appeals to public charity.

9. It will distribute a large addition to Southern capital among a class of inhabitants who have been debarred hitherto from contributing to the general welfare of their section.

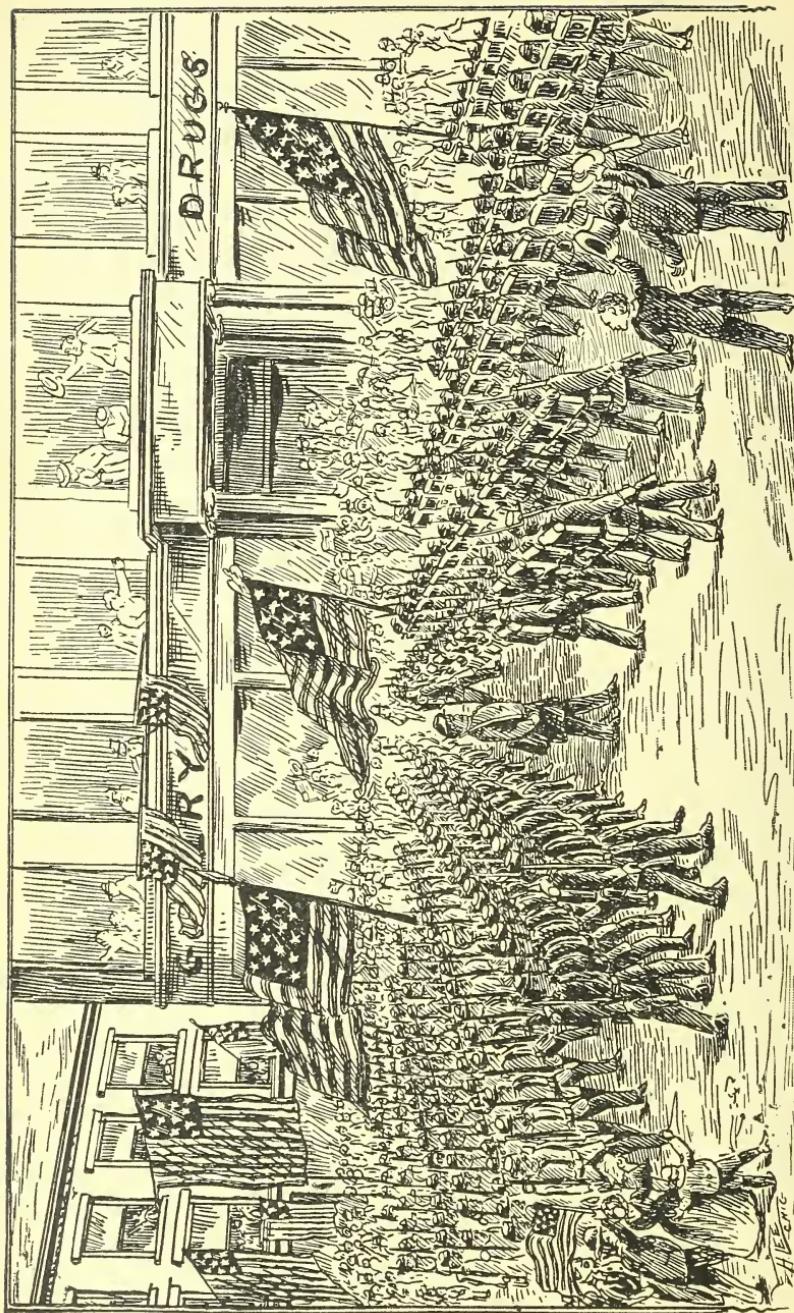
10. It will enable the emancipated race to contribute to the prosperity of their several states and to pursue avocations denied to persons wholly dependent upon their daily toil for support.

11. It will have a tendency to break down a residuary sense of race oppression which may have been fostered by means of a condition of dependence but a shade removed from the former condition of slavery.

12. It will remove the last barrier existing between the races which has made political solidity an objectionable feature in the political affairs of any section of the Great American Republic, and in coming years the thought of a solid North or a solid South will not have a shade of sectional support.

13. It will be the duty of public men, it is hoped, occupying every station of life, whether in the Senate or the House, whether the president or governors of states, whether judges of courts or attorneys at the bar, whether bankers or managers of great corporations of every class, to ask themselves whether this claim of one-tenth of the population of the United States ought to be disregarded, and whether any country can continually prosper that suffers injustice to such a large part of its people.

As you should be judged by the future generations of your countrymen, and finally by the All Wise Arbitrator of human accounts, you are adjured not to turn a deaf ear to the petition now made in behalf of a misused and selfishly derided race, which has been emancipated from bondage only to be wedded to lives of ignorance and a condition of penury bordering upon starvation. In the name and hope of that justice which ought to animate the hearts of all true men, let the appeal sink deep into your minds, to the end that you shall heed the call made upon you to encourage an earnest support of the Freedmen's Pension Bill. "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."



Negro soldiers fighting for the Union. The 54th Massachusetts in 1863, passing through New York City, the first complete regiment of negro troops called to duty. Ordered to proceed to South Carolina. So great was the prejudice at the North against negro soldiers, that the chief of police in the city of New York informed the war department that he feared the regiment would be subjected to insult in case it passed through that metropolis. His fears appear to have been groundless, as the regiment passed on its way.

MEN OF MERIT.

In the foregoing pages it has been intended to show, in as brief a compass as may be considered consistent with a proper delineation of the general character of negroes as citizens, something of their fealty to their masters in the days of slavery, their devotion to the cause of liberty when they found the way opened for them to become freemen, their success in life when thrown upon their own resources, their heroic bravery in the Union cause when mustered into the Federal service in the capacity of soldiers, and their honorable reputation as statesmen in cases where colored men have been called into the political field. To this it might have been added that very many of them have risen to distinction in the Christian church and in the field of letters. But this branch of the subject may be fittingly discussed in a series of brief biographical sketches of men who have achieved distinction in their capacity as freemen after having been liberated from the bonds of slavery.

Before entering upon the narration of individual cases it may be proper to say that almost every community of the South has within it some person who ought to rank as a hero, but who is unknown to fame because there has been a desire to enjoy the blessings of domestic life rather than to engage in a calling that would bring an individual into public notice. Very many of the emancipated slaves have discovered decided financial ability, and they have accumulated large wealth. Mr. Montgomery, who was a trusted slave of Jefferson Davis, under the old regime, and who acted as his master's agent in very many important commercial transactions, accumulated an extensive property after he became a freeman, and was widely known as an enterprising and successful planter. He is but one of many whose talent ran in the line of trade and traffic. The instances of slaves made freemen, with no resources but the talents which God gave to them, but who have acquired a competency, would fill a large volume.

Recently the writer was much interested in perusing a newspaper sketch of a negro lad in Mississippi, who attracted the attention of his mistress by marks of natural shrewdness, and the lady conceived the idea of his being made useful to her in other lines than in a life of drudgery, provided he possessed a fair degree of

cultivation. She thereupon devoted a short time every morning in teaching the boy to read. He was apt in learning, and in a comparatively short time he had acquired the rudiments of a fair English education, with no other instruction than such as his mistress was able to impart. While conditions were as stated the civil war broke out. The adult white members of the family in which the young negro was held as a slave, three in number, all entered the Confederate army, and in the vicissitudes of the war they all fell. Towards the close of hostilities the old plantation suffered from the incursions of contending armies, and became the prey of foraging parties on both sides. Tribute was levied first by the one and then by the other. In a season of ruthless devastation the improvements upon the plantation were destroyed by fire. Peace came, but the old mistress was impoverished—nothing remaining to her except her barren acres. These were mortgaged in a hopeless struggle to improve the place and begin life anew; but the effort was fruitless, and the mortgage, in due time, ate up the land. The plantation passed under the hammer. In some manner the slave boy of former years learned that his old home was to be sold, and that his kind mistress was about to meet the cold charity of the world as a beggar. Like thousands of others of his race he had enlisted in the Union service, and after discharge he had been engaged in a struggle for fortune, and had been moderately successful. He turned his face toward the old plantation and arrived at the county seat in time to attend the sale. As if divinely ordered he became the successful bidder, and the place whereon his eyes first beheld the light of day became his property in fee simple. His next step was to hunt up his old mistress and to minister to her comfort. She had relatives living in Virginia and the desire of her heart seemed to be that she might be able to reach them and to die amidst the scenes of her childhood. Her former servant provided the means, and the lady returned to her native state. The bright boy she had taught to read became a planter on the estate where he had once toiled as a slave. He rebuilt the houses, raised his crops and prospered in the new life. Every year he sent a handsome donation to his former mistress, which he increased in amount as his circumstances improved. The young man became very wealthy, buying other plantations, and giving employment to many of his former fellow-slaves. He still lives and is rated to be worth a half million of money. His old mistress is also living, made comfortable in her old age by the munificence of the man who once ranked as one of her chattels. Every month this

kind-hearted freedman sends his old mistress a check for one hundred and fifty dollars, and he will continue to do so until she is called to the better land.

This incident has been related at length for the reason that it affords a good illustration of that genuine love which is an inherent part of the negro character. Unquestionably there are to be found throughout the South thousands of such instances of unselfish devotion on the part of the ex-slaves for the surviving members of the families of their old-time masters. The truth of such an assumption is rendered highly probable by one circumstance that admits of no dispute. The great mass of the ex-slaves have remained within near approach to the scenes of their former servitude. They do so from a dislike to break up and destroy the associations of early years. Of course there has been a great shifting of scenes on the part of many; and in some instances mammoth emigration associations have been organized of those who have sought new homes in distant states and territories. But the number who sought new locations probably amounts to no more than ten per cent. of the emancipated people.

The humble walks of life furnish as many evidences of great hearts among the southern freedmen as may be shown by those who have risen to eminence in church and state. But being unknown it is not an easy matter to do them that degree of justice which their gratitude and devotion are entitled to receive. In this respect the negro stands side by side with the white man. Of the Anglo-Saxon races, and, indeed, of all races of men, it is the eminent few who are named in history, while the humble many run their course and go to the grave unknown, unhonored and unsung.

But for the purpose of manifesting the progress which the negro has made under very trying circumstances, a brief review of the lives of some of the noted men of the race, will be in order.

From the beginning it has been the purpose of this little volume to confine its narration to those persons of color, in the main, who have been the subjects of slavery within the United States, with a view of exhibiting their heroism in rising above the rule of oppression, that was their birthright, and of the years of their early lives. There have been many free men of color who were never held as slaves who have been an honor to their race, but these scarcely come within the line of this discussion.

CRISPUS ATTUCKS.

In a former part of this volume it has been shown that at the time of the foundation of the federal constitution all of the states held slaves except one. Prior to that date, in colonial days and before the old French war, slaves were held in all communities settled by immigration from Europe. About the year 1723 there was born of a slave mother in the colony of Massachusetts the subject of this sketch, Crispus Attucks. Like all men possessing natural aspirations for liberty, Crispus Attucks chafed under the rule of slavery and longed to be free. When he was 27 years old he managed to escape from his master at Farmington, the date of his escape being September 30, 1750. He has been described as a finely developed man, of a bright yellow complexion, six feet two inches in height, broad shouldered and in every respect an athlete. He had learned to read, for at that time the education of a slave was not entirely forbidden. His master advertised for his recovery, offering a reward of ten pounds sterling for his capture. As it was presumed he would try to go abroad in some sailing vessel all masters of such vessels and others were cautioned "against concealing or carrying off said servant on penalty of the law." But the caution was useless, for Crispus Attucks made good his escape and was not captured.

His biographers do not tell us whether he went to sea or fled to the forests, or how he managed to survive, but it is certain that the soul-born love of freedom which he cherished was not quenched. He was ready to fight for liberty, and if need be, to die for the cause, not for himself alone, but for all the subjects of oppression. And in that manner he met his death.

The Boston massacre took place March 5, 1770. The inhabitants of that city had been the victims of British oppression to a degree that frenzied them with madness. They had been taxed without representation, and at last British troops were sent among them to enforce subjection at the point of the bayonet. They formed clubs to drive out the invaders. Shouting, "let us drive out the ribalds—they have no business here," the crowd rushed toward King street and made for the custom-house. At the sight of an armed sentinel the mob shouted, "Kill him! kill him!" and made an attack. Charles Botta, the Italian historian says: "There was a band of the populace, led by a mulatto named Attucks, who brandished their clubs and pelted them with snow-balls. The soldiers received the advance of the populace at the point of their bayonets. The scene was horrible. At length the mulatto and

twelve of his companions pressing forward environed the soldiers, striking their muskets with their clubs, cried to the multitude, 'Be not afraid—they dare not fire. Why do you hesitate? Why do you not kill them? Why not crush them out at once?'"

Inspired by the words of Attucks the crowd rushed madly on and, as they approached the soldiery, there was a discharge of firearms. Attucks, the brave leader, had lifted his arm to strike down Capt. Preston, the British officer in command, but he fell a victim to the first gun shot. Two others fell with him and five were wounded. The cry of bloodshed spread like wild fire. Citizens crowded the streets, white with rage. The church-bells rang the alarm, and in a little while the whole country was aroused to battle.

Crispus Attucks was buried from historic Fanueil Hall with pomp and honor. He was no longer looked upon as a fugitive slave on whose head a price had been set, but as a patriot leader who had dared to shed his blood in defiance of British oppression. His position had been taken with firmness and decision, for in advance of the massacre he had addressed a letter to the Tory Governor of the province of Massachusetts in these words:

SIR: You will hear from us with astonishment. You ought to hear from us with horror. You are chargeable before God and man with our blood. The soldiers are but passive instruments, mere machines, neither moral or voluntary agents in our destruction, more than the leaden pellets with which we were wounded. You were a free agent. You acted coolly, deliberately, with all that premeditated malice, not against us in particular, but against the people in general, which, in sight of the law, is an ingredient in the composition of murder. You will hear from us further hereafter.

CRISPUS ATTUCKS.

This letter has reference to a former skirmish before the fatal day of massacre.

It will thus be seen that the first blood shed in the cause of the American Revolution was that of a patriot man of color who had lived twenty years of freedom after having deliberately broken the chains that bound him to a life of slavery. Where Crispus Attucks had made his abode during those twenty years has not been made known to the present generation. Although a price had been set upon his head it is manifest that he did not go far enough away from Boston to prevent his hearing the clanking of the chains that were being forged to make Americans of every creed and color the slaves of British tyranny. At the first manifestation of force he placed himself at the head of the people by right of having been born and ordained of God as a natural

leader of men. He fell a martyr in a holy cause. Let his name be held in sacred endearment.

The history of Crispus Attucks gives evidence that slaves are entitled to freedom, and they deserve compensation for the labor they performed when their time was not their own.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Perhaps the best known man of color, now living, and the man of all others who has been regarded as the representative man of his race, is Frederick Douglass. A biographical sketch of this remarkable negro reads more like romance than fact; and yet every word that has been published respecting him is fact without the half having been told.

Mr. Douglass does not know his exact age, but he was probably born in the year 1817 or 1818. In an interview with his old master, who once held him as a slave, a few months prior to the death of the latter, he was told that according to the recollection of Captain Auld, he was born in the month of February, 1818. He had always regarded himself one year older. The birthplace of Douglass was in the district of Tuckahoe on the eastern shore of Maryland. His early years were marked by extreme poverty and wretchedness. He was the slave of Captain Auld, who was a severe taskmaster and selfishly cruel. Southern slave holders were not generally cruel, but there were exceptions, and the case of Frederick Douglass constituted an extraordinary exception.

When ten years old Douglass was sent to Mrs. Sophia Auld, a relation by marriage to Captain Auld, to be reared as a house servant in Baltimore. His situation was now greatly improved. The woman had humane characteristics, and noticing that her servant was naturally bright and quick she began teaching him the alphabet. But her husband ascertained what was going on and soon put a stop to further instruction. Possibly this circumstance changed the whole tenor of Frederick Douglass' life. Had Mrs. Auld been permitted to teach him to read, and to have given him that kindly treatment which her heart prompted, he might have been content to have remained in Baltimore, and he would have endured a life of slavery as millions of others have done. But the inhibition of the instruction he craved only whetted his appetite for learning, and excited a determination to be a free man at the earliest opportunity. He carried his spelling book in his jacket and by sheer effort taught himself. When he could read a little he invested his little earnings in a copy of the



FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

old Columbian Orator, and after reading the "Fanaticism of Liberty" and the "Declaration of Independence" he made up his mind that there was no just right in holding him in slavery. He watched his chance and ran away. He had by this time nearly reached his majority and was engaged to a free woman of color. He made his way, as best he could, to New York, whither his affianced wife followed him. They were married and settled at New Bedford, Mass. Here he pursued a life of the severest toil, doing any job of work he could procure. Here several of his children were born. Through all his toil he continued his studies and developed an active mind that will compare favorably with the educated talent of our first statesmen. He was a regular reader of William Lloyd Garrison's Liberator, and gauged his career after the system of that gentleman's teachings.

His first political address was delivered at Nantucket in 1841. He was at once made an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and in that capacity he began a crusade for the freedom and elevation of his race. His reputation began to extend all over the states and to foreign countries. The rumor went abroad that he was a fugitive from slavery, and there were constant threats of his arrest. But his identity was not easily established, as he had assumed the name of Frederick Douglass, and was not suspected of being the runaway slave of Capt. Auld. The custom of slave days was for the servant to bear the name of the master.

As his oratorical career spread his fame abroad Mr. Douglass was pressed to visit England in the advancement of his work. There he was lionized. He was the guest of John Bright and British statesmen delighted to do him honor. He subsequently engaged in journalism and was the editor of several publications. While publishing Frederick Douglass' Paper he conceived the idea of sending his journal to every member of congress, which he did for several years.

About this time Mr. Douglass made the acquaintance of John Brown, of Harper's Ferry memory, and they became fast friends. Together they formed plans for the liberation of slaves, but Mr. Douglass did not approve of an armed insurrection and did his best to induce Mr. Brown to abandon that program. In this, as the world knows, he was not successful. Had Mr. Douglass been successful in changing Mr. Brown's plans the Harper's Ferry tragedy would not have occurred.

The association between Frederick Douglass and Mr. Brown became known, and with it the information was imparted as to

Mr. Douglass' identity. Governor Wise, of Virginia, took measures to have him arrested and restored to slavery. He addressed a letter to President Buchanan, asking to have two detectives commissioned as special mail agents that they might shadow him and, when convenient, arrest and take him south. But the facts came to light, and acting under the advice of friends Mr. Douglass repaired to Canada and thence sailed for Europe. He remained abroad until he might safely return to America and resume his anti-slavery work at home.

During the war Mr. Douglass was a prominent figure in all that appertained to his race. He urged the issue of the emancipation proclamation with all the vigor and force of his great intellect, and when Mr. Lincoln finally became persuaded that emancipation, as a war measure, was a union necessity he proceeded to act. When the first proclamation of September 1862 was made public, it is probable that no happier man lived on American soil than Frederick Douglass. The work of a lifetime was accomplished, the prayers of a lifetime had been answered, and the oppressed people of his race were practically free.

Naturally, a man of Mr. Douglass' patriotic views on national questions, and his great desire to see his race elevated to a high standard of respectability, caused him to take a deep interest in the purposes of the war during its continuance. He was among the first to encourage the enlistment of colored troops, and to have them put upon a footing with white soldiers. He had become a man of large wealth, and he used his private means freely in the organization of black regiments, and in equipping the troops for service in the field. Two of his sons were among the first to enlist and thousands of others went with them to the front. While the young men of his race were taking part in active service, Mr. Douglass interested himself in securing for the negro troops the right of exchange and the general humane treatment extended to captives taken in war. In this work he was successful in a marked degree.

After the conclusion of hostilities Mr. Douglass was an active participant in the exciting scenes that took place in congress and other legislative bodies looking to riveting the rights established for the negro race upon the federal constitution, and the constitutions of those states wherein slavery had previously been a recognized institution. He was very active and influential in procuring the passage of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the federal constitution, the freedmen's bureau bill, the civil

rights act and other legislation necessary for the peace, comfort and protection of his race.

Following the busy scenes and events of the reconstruction period Mr. Douglass entered the lecture field and achieved great distinction as a platform orator. In this theater of action he encountered much of the prejudice entertained by white people against the black race, simply because of their color. Great crowds rushed to hear him discuss the civic questions of the day, but very few desired to care for his comfort and well-being as he filled his lecture engagements. All were anxious to hear, but scarcely any were willing to entertain. An incident of this character is worth relating.

Mr. Douglass had been invited to lecture before the library association at Evansville, Indiana. The question arose, "What shall we do with him?" None of the gentlemen directly connected with the association cared to have him as a guest. By chance Col. A. T. Whittlesey, who had been postmaster at Evansville during the administration of President Johnson, and was then the editor of the Evansville Daily Courier, and now of the Omaha Daily Democrat, learned of a heated discussion upon the subject between gentlemen of political sympathy with Mr. Douglass, not one of whom were willing to open their doors to the great orator. Col. Whittlesey at once addressed a note to Dr. H. W. Cloud, of the lecture committee, stating that he would be glad to have Mr. Douglass become his guest, and that all colored persons, ladies and gentlemen, who desired to pay their respects to Mr. Douglass during his sojourn would be just as welcome at his parlors as white persons who might see fit to call.

Mr. Whittlesey and his wife had frequently entertained such eminent statesmen as Thomas A. Hendricks, Senator Voorhees and other persons of recognized political reputation. It was remarked that as their guest Mr. Douglass would be extended all the courtesy and attention due to his great ability, but for political reasons party leaders refused to permit the proposed arrangement to be carried out. Mr. Douglass was not allowed to be Col. Whittlesey's guest, nor the guest of any other respectable white gentleman in Evansville. Neither was he provided with quarters in any of the public hotels in the city. He was accommodated at a negro boarding house kept by a Widow Carter, a very highly respected colored lady, and no white persons called to pay their respects other than the lecture committee having him immediately under their charge. It is scarcely necessary to say

that this little episode created an intense local excitement for a time, and it serves to show the deep seated prejudice entertained against the colored race, even at the North, by persons claiming to be the especial friends and champions of the blacks. But this prejudice is fast disappearing, and a feeling of brotherly kindness and regard is gradually extending.

In the civil service since the war Mr. Douglass has been a very conspicuous figure. He was a presidential elector in the state of New York in 1872, was made Marshal of the District of Columbia in 1877 and Register of Deeds of the District in 1881. He continued to hold that office about a year and a half under the administration of President Cleveland. He is now American Minister at San Domingo. He is in all respects a great man, having few equals in any walk of life. He is purely a self-made man, and he has raised himself to the top-most round of the ladder of fame. He is a credit to the negro race and an honor to any people.

SAMUEL R. LOWERY.

The subject of this sketch is a person of a different cast in life from most of the others who have made a record for distinction in the annals of the black race. While descended from slave stock, on the one side, he was not himself a slave, his mother having been a free woman from the time of his birth. But his father was a slave, and never breathed the air of personal freedom until the edict of emancipation was promulgated. He was then at liberty to meet his distinguished son on the plane of liberty, which is the natural right of all men without regard to color.

Samuel R. Lowery was born December 9, 1830, from the union of a slave father and a mother who was a full-blooded Cherokee Indian. The father is living, or was two years ago, at Nashville, Tenn., and in all that goodly city there is no man who has a juster pride in his offspring than Father Lowery entertains for the progress made by his distinguished son. Mr. Lowery lost his mother when he was about eight years old. At the age of sixteen years Mr. Lowery took upon himself the business of school teaching, and for one so young met with tolerable success, and continued to teach until he was twenty years old. During his course as a teacher he fell in with Rev. Talbot Fanning, who aided the young man in his aspirations and was instrumental in securing for him a good education. He entered the ministry and for about eight years was pastor of the



SAMUEL R. LOWERY.

Christian church at Cincinnati, Ohio. While following the life of a Christian minister in the Queen City he married a colored lady of culture, and soon afterward took up his residence in Canada. He returned to the United States in 1863, after the appearance of President Lincoln's second proclamation, and proceeding to Nashville, near the scenes of his birthplace, he began preaching the doctrine of salvation as taught in the Christian churches, but he coupled with it the freedom of the southern slaves as an incident of salvation. He became chaplain of Col. Crawford's regiment of negro soldiers, the same being the Fortieth regiment of the United States infantry regulars. He was afterward transferred to the Ninth United States heavy artillery, with which he remained in the capacity of chaplain until the dawn of peace.

Mr. Lowery opened a school in Rutherford county, Tennessee, after the war, but the prevalence of political excitement prevented his success in that work. He then took a law course and was admitted to the bar at Nashville. In 1875 he took up his residence at Huntsville, Alabama, and pursued his legal calling with marked success. One of his cases having been carried to the supreme court of the United States he followed it to Washington for the purpose of making an argument, and he was admitted to the bar of the highest tribunal of the land upon motion of Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, the renowned female attorney. While in Washington his two daughters, aged respectively 15 and 10 years, visited an exhibition of silkworms and became interested in the silk culture. They persuaded their father to purchase some silkworm eggs, which he did, and with the aid of the southern mulberry tree as a feeder of the worms Mr. Lowery began the silk culture at Huntsville, which he has promoted to a valuable industry. After beginning this work Mr. Lowery visited all the silk industries in America and mastered all the points to which his attention was directed.

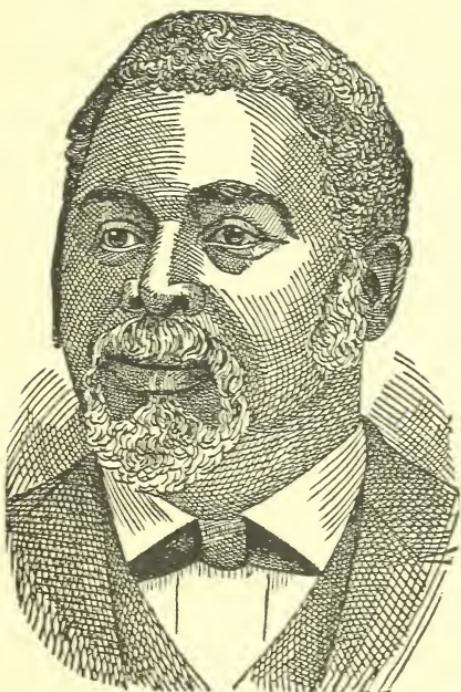
Mr. Lowery has abandoned the practice of the law and has given his whole time to the culture of silk. At the New Orleans industrial exposition he was awarded the first prize for fine silk goods, over an old French establishment to which a premium of \$1,000 had been paid as an inducement to make an exhibit. The silk factory at Huntsville is in a very prosperous condition, and the name of Samuel R. Lowery, preacher, lawyer and manufacturer, is among those standing high in the progress of the colored people. His father was a slave!

HON. ROBERT SMALLS.

Few of the ex-slaves deserve more favorable mention or higher honor than the ex-member of Congress from the Beaufort district of South Carolina. Mr. Smalls was born at Beaufort, in the district which he subsequently represented in the house of representatives at Washington, April 5, 1839. As a slave his advantages of education were limited, but by hook or crook he managed to secure the smattering of an English education. In 1851 he went to Charleston and was employed in the business of ship rigging. In this business he learned the business of equipping a vessel and incidentally the duties of a sailor. In that capacity he became connected with the Planter, a transport doing business in Charleston harbor. He was employed on board that vessel when Fort Sumter was fired upon in 1861. The Planter was taken in possession by the Confederate authorities and was used as a dispatch boat until she was captured and turned over to the blockading fleet of the United States navy, May 13, 1862.

The capture of the vessel was accomplished by Robert Smalls. The day before, the vessel had been engaged in removing guns from Coles Island to James Island. After the work was done the boat returned to Charleston. The officers went ashore, leaving a crew of eight colored men on board in charge of Mr. Smalls, who was a wheelman and acting pilot. The crew was called together, and Robert Smalls laid before the men on deck his plan for turning over the vessel to the United States squadron, to which all assented, although two of the men became frightened and concluded to remain behind. The scheme was hazardous, as the boat was obliged to pass under the guns of the fort and the shore batteries. Detection was certain death. At 2 o'clock in the morning steam was raised and the Planter, with a valuable cargo of guns and ammunition, designed for the equipment of Fort Ripley, a new fortification erected in the harbor, moved up to the North Atlantic wharf, where Smalls' wife and two children, three men and four other women, were taken on board. All were colored people. The Planter passed Fort Johnson, first sounding her whistle in salute, and receiving the customary salute in return, and proceeded down the bay. Passing Fort Sumter Smalls leaned out of the pilot house with the broad sombrero of Relay, the master of the vessel, drawn over his face, and was mistaken for that officer.

The required signal was given and responded to. After passing the Fort the Planter was headed for Morris Island, then



HON. ROBERT SMALLS.

occupied by Hatch's light artillery. When it became evident that the Planter was heading for the Federal fleet the Hatch battery at Morris' Island was signalled to stop her; but it was too late. The Planter displayed a white flag, but in the darkness it was not distinguished. She was mistaken for a Confederate ram, and the naval vessels drew out of her way. The ship Onward, not being a steamer, prepared for a broadside, when the lookout chanced to observe the flag of truce. When within hailing distance her character was explained and the Planter was speedily surrendered to Captain Nichols, of the United States navy. Robert Smalls was afterwards transferred to the gun-boat Crusader, and on board of that vessel and the captured Planter he continued to do duty during the war. He was honored with a captain's rank in the United States navy, but he was never commissioned as such an officer.

After the war a bill was introduced in Congress to place the name of Robert Smalls upon the retired list of the United States navy, and a voluminous report was submitted showing the value of the property which he captured, and the meritorious service which he rendered to the Government of the United States. Yet, strange to say, the bill did not pass for the frivolous reason assigned that there was no precedent for placing a civilian upon the retired list of the navy. Had Mr. Smalls been a distinguished politician of the party in power he would, no doubt, have been voted a high reward for services rendered the Union cause.

At the close of the war Captain Smalls, as he was called, dropped, naturally, into civil life. He was elected a member of the convention which framed the constitution of South Carolina under the reconstruction acts, and took an active part in the proceedings. In 1868 he was made a member of the state legislature, and was the author of the state civil rights bill. He then served a part of a term in the state senate as the successor of Judge Wright, and afterwards was elected for a full term. He occupied a high rank in the South Carolina militia, holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the third regiment, and was made a brigadier-general in 1873.

General Smalls was a delegate to three national conventions of the republican party — at Philadelphia, in 1872, when Grant and Wilson received the party nomination; at Cincinnati, in 1876, when Hayes and Wheeler were nominated, and again at Chicago, in 1884, when Blaine and Logan were placed in the field. He has served three successive terms in Congress, having been elected the first time in 1880, to the Forty-seventh Congress; he was re-elected in 1882 to the Forty-eighth Congress, and again in 1884 to the

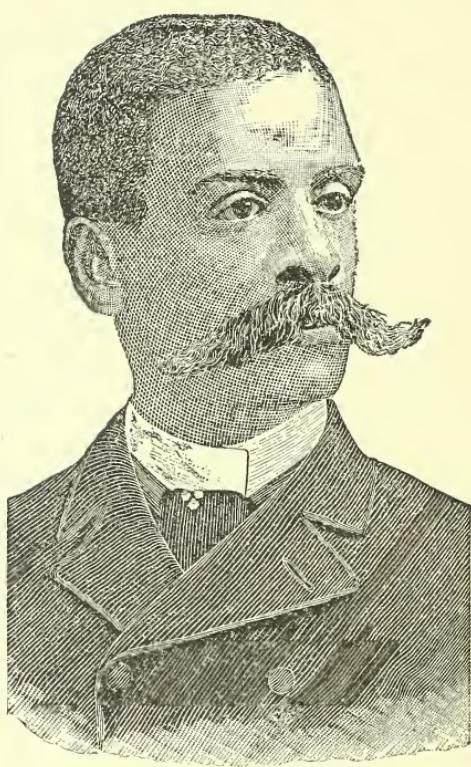
Forty-ninth Congress. He is a gentleman of pleasant demeanor, affable and approachable, and he is in every respect an honor to his race.

PROF. JOSEPH E. JONES.

Among the remarkable men, of the African race who have sprung from the lap of the institution of slavery, there are some who have distinguished themselves in the field of literature and learning in a high degree, and have made a mark in educational progress quite as eminent as those who have taken a high rank in political life. In this catalogue very honorable mention deserves to be made of Prof. J. E. Jones, of the theological seminary at Richmond, Virginia.

Prof. Jones was born in slavery in the city of Lynchburg, October 15, 1850. He is still a comparatively young man. He began life at the age of six years, as stripper in a tobacco factory, greatly to the disgust of his mother, who had a mother's heart and ambition for her offspring. The laws of Virginia forbade the education of slaves, and there opened up for the mother only a life of toil for her boy. Yet she conceived the idea that some time in the future the negroes would become free, and that her son would be somebody. She frequently expressed such sentiments to her fellow slaves, and on one occasion she stated her opinion to her master. The woman was esteemed to be stark mad. There was, however, method in her madness, and having saved some money of her own, she procured the services of a negro in the same family to which she belonged, but who had a limited education, to give her son elementary lessons. Two or three evenings a week were devoted to this purpose. It was near the end of the war, in 1864, and the condition of the confederate cause was becoming desperate. The teacher became frightened and concluded that it would be prudent for him to suspend his educational functions. After much persuasion he concluded to continue the lessons every Sunday morning from 10 to 12 o'clock. About this time the teacher's owner ascertained that his slave could read and write, and the master accordingly sold a slave that was such unsafe property as to be possessed of a little education. This was a sad blow to the aspirations of young Joe Jones.

But the fond mother could not give over her project of securing an education for her son. A sick confederate soldier happened to come in her locality and she offered him lodging and food in case he would give lessons to the young lad. Thus matters continued for several weeks until the surrender of General Lee at



PROF. JOSEPH E. JONES.

Appomattox. Then followed the universal recognition of the success of emancipation, and a brighter day dawned for the aspiring youth. He at once became a student in a private school opened at Lynchburg, where he continued two years.

In October, 1868, young Jones entered the Richmond Institute, now the Richmond Seminary, in which he figures as a Professor. Here he received instruction three years and then entered the Madison University at Hamilton, N. Y., where he graduated in 1876, having taken a complete preparatory and college course. The same year the American Baptist Home Mission Society, of New York, appointed him as instructor in the Richmond Institute, and made him professor of language and philosophy. The following year he was ordained as a Baptist Minister, and his Alma Mater conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts. He is now professor of Homeletics and the Greek language in the Richmond Theological Seminary.

The career of this able and accomplished student furnishes abundant evidence that the despised negro slave of other days may become eminent in letters and renowned in the service of the Divine Master.

PROF. JOHN H. BURRUS.

The surrender of 1865 found three slave boys named Burrus at Marshall, Texas, with the remnant of Bragg's army. With their mother they were sent to Shreveport, La., thence to New Orleans and finally to Memphis, Tenn. Here the subject of this sketch, John H. Burrus, found employment as a steamboat cook. About 1866 he went to Nashville and became a hotel waiter. He saved his money and took to study of evenings in order to acquire an education, receiving instruction from two lady boarders of the hotel. By 1867 he had saved \$300, and then determined to take a course at the Fisk University. During the vacations he taught school. Thus he continued until 1874. During the summer of that year he traveled with a religious panorama. In 1876 he was elected a delegate to the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati and there voted for the nomination of Rutherford B. Hayes for president.

After the convention Mr. Burrus made an extensive tour throughout the North and East. On his return home he was chosen principal of the Yazoo city school at Yazoo, Miss. He subsequently taught two years in his Alma Mater college, the Fisk University, and received the degree of A. M. In 1879 he began reading law and was admitted to the bar in 1881. In 1883 he



FREED, UNEDUCATED, NO MONEY AND NO FRIENDS—RAGS AND POVERTY
HIS PORTION.

was selected for the presidency of the Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College at Rodney, Miss., which has grown to be one of the most important institutions of learning in the South under his administration. He is a gentleman of the finest culture, devoted to his profession, and highly esteemed throughout Mississippi by all classes of people.

Besides representing his people at the Cincinnati Convention in 1876 Prof. Burrus has been a good deal of a politician and has manifested an aptitude for public life. He was secretary of the Tennessee republican convention in 1878 and was secretary and treasurer of the State Executive Committee for two years. He was elected a school director at Nashville in 1878 and was re-elected in 1881, beating the combined vote of two competitors, one white man and one negro, although the majority of the people of the district were white. The other two directors were white men, yet Mr. Burrus was made chairman of the board and charged with the duty of visiting all the schools and seeing that the course of instruction was rigidly followed.

Since being placed at the head of the Alcorn University Prof. Burrus has abjured political life and proposes to devote the balance of his days strictly to educational interests. He has done much towards the elevation of his race. He does not believe in any man complaining that his color has kept him down in life. He believes that brains and character will always win. He has scarcely yet reached the prime of life; and there is a prospect of his accomplishing a glorious work in the future.

WILEY JONES.

Among the successful ex-slaves the name of Wiley Jones, of Arkansas, shines with resplendent luster. All success is the result of innate qualities which mark and make a man. In a pecuniary sense Mr. Jones has met with unbounded success, and he certainly deserves the good fortune which has attended his labors since he was released from bondage.

Wiley Jones is a native of Georgia, having been born in Madison county, July 14, 1848. His parents are dead. When only five years old he was taken to Arkansas by his master, whose name was Fitz Yell. As soon as he was old enough he was made a house-boy, and he also drove the family carriage. He continued in these lines of employment for two years or more. His master was an original union man and enlisted in the Federal army at the first opportunity. His slave, Wiley Jones, followed him, and he



THE NEGRO.

The American white people have grown rich from the stolen labor of the negro, who is the friend to the white race, ever ready to defend their wives, children and property. The negro is a progressive, honorable citizen.

The Indian is the hater of the white race. He has cost the government millions of dollars, and has been

a murderer of the race for hundreds of years. Still, the Indian is provided for with food, clothes, money, guns, etc. He can ride free, north, east, west and south on all railroads, while thousands of honest, faithful negroes are starving for the necessities of life almost at our very doors. Let the honest tax-payer and patriotic American aid in righting this great national wrong.



THE INDIAN.

continued in camp until peace was proclaimed. He then went to Waco, Texas, and drove from Brazos river to San Antonio, hauling cotton to the frontier. He next returned to Arkansas and worked on a plantation for monthly wages. In 1881 he went into the tobacco and cigar trade, in which business he rapidly accumulated a fortune. He is naturally a shrewd trader, and to his natural quickness of perception he is indebted for his business success, for he never had the advantage of a system of schooling, and hence his education is very limited, being such as he has picked up in life, as he came in contact with men and events. The school of adversity and experience is often the best teacher of men, especially of the class of persons who never yield to discouragement in life.

Mr. Jones is now a resident of Pine Bluff, one of the rapidly developing cities of the state of Arkansas. He has extended his business by securing the street car charter for that thriving place, and he has placed his car lines under thorough equipment. He is also treasurer of the Industrial Fair Association. He is the sole owner of the grounds whereon the fair has been held, and of the race track and park, which covers fifty-five acres of ground lying one mile distant from the main street of the city. The street car stables are also located on this tract.

In his mercantile business Mr. Jones carries a stock of goods valued at \$15,000, and he estimates his total possessions at \$125,000, which is augmenting at a rapid rate. In all probability the day is near at hand when he will be accounted a millionaire. He is also a great fancier of blooded stock, and owns a herd of Durham and Holstein cattle. He is likewise engaged in breeding fine trotting stock, and one of his stallions, "Executor," has a record of 2:21. On his farm he has about a dozen choice bred mares, and he keeps a professional driver to handle them, which insures the best of care and a fine development of speed.

Taken altogether, Wiley Jones may be regarded as one of the most successful business men of the country. It is only about a quarter of a century since he was emancipated from the bondage of slavery, and his advancement since that time has been prodigious. He is regarded as the soul of honor by his white neighbors, who esteem him as a gentleman of the first-class. He is liberal, charitable and humane, as well as enterprising and successful in business affairs.

JOHN WESLEY TERRY.

This gentleman is one of the natural mechanics of the land, who has raised himself from an humble origin to an honored position in the street railway service of a great city. He was born in Murray county, Tennessee, in the year 1846, and was the slave of one William Pickard until released from bondage by the circumstances of the rebellion. His earliest recollections are of a very crude nature. His mother was a field hand and was obliged to work on the farm the live-long day. Having no other resource, the subject of this sketch and an older brother, when but prattling infants, were placed in a pen every morning, with a sufficiency of food and water to answer their daily necessities, and left to their own resources until the tired mother returned from her daily toil to her cabin and her infant children. Truly this was a hard beginning of an humble life to produce the grand results which have followed in the years of manhood.

When the union armies entered Columbia, Tennessee, in the summer of 1863, the mother of Mr. Terry took her children and started for the Federal lines. She was received and cared for, and for a season was offered protection. The elder son, Henry, was old enough to bear arms, and enlisted in the union service. In time a change of commanders occurred at Columbia, and one Col. Myers assumed control of the place. He made it a rule to return all slaves to their masters when claimed. Accordingly Mrs. Terry and her younger son were sent back to Murray county. Arrived there the young man declared his emancipation to his former master, and threatened to report him to the union commander at the adjacent town for harboring and feeding rebel soldiers, that county having been occupied by union troops during their absence at Columbia. His old master begged him not to make such a report, promised to recognize his freedom and pay him wages for future service. Accordingly young Terry worked for two years as a farm hand for the man who had formerly been his lawful master.

In 1866 young Wesley went to Nashville to look for his mother, who had made a second attempt at escape from bondage. Having found her, he began the business of steamboating, while his mother kept house for him. In 1875 he went to Chicago and entered the employ of the West Division Street Car Company and worked for the corporation two years. He then went to Washington, D. C., and entered the Wayland Seminary, where he remained four years. He completed the normal course and then

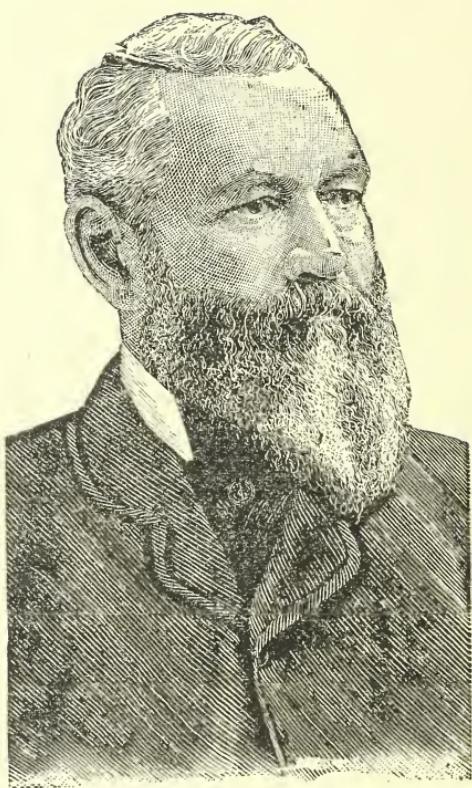
took a theological course, with a view of entering the ministry of the Baptist church, of which he was a member. But having contracted some debts during his collegiate course, he concluded to resume work in the car shops, where he has continued to the present time. In the course of a year he was made foreman, and has a large force of mechanics under his direction, he being the only man of color in the company's employment. He is highly respected by the officers of the company, and by the men who work under him. His skill as a machinist is of the highest order. He is a member of the Knights of Labor and a director of the Central Park Building and Loan association.

From a plantation hand in Tennessee this young man has risen to affluence and respectability. The progress of the ex-slave appears to be onward and upward.

P. B. S. PINCHBACK.

Few men in the South have attracted so large a share of public attention since the days of emancipation as the Hon. Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback, of New Orleans. He was born in Holmes County, Miss., May 10, 1837. He was the son of Major William Pinchback and a slave mother of mixed blood, Eliza Stewart, who claimed to have both Negro and Indian blood in her veins. Major Pinchback manumitted the girl Eliza Stewart, who bore him ten children, so it can scarcely be said that Gov. Pinchback ever was a slave, though the son of a slave mother. He is the sole survivor of the large family. The mother lived to a ripe old age, dying in 1884.

In 1846 young Pinchback with an elder brother was sent to Cincinnati to Gilmore's High School where they remained two years. On their return home they found Major Pinchback on his dying bed. The mother with five children hurried back to Cincinnati after the funeral in order to prevent the enslavement of the children by the white heirs of Major Pinchback's estate. While there the oldest son lost his mind. This calamity left the care of the family upon the subject of this sketch. He was then only twelve years old. He obtained work as a cabin boy on a canal boat at eight dollars a month, on the Miami canal, between Cincinnati and Toledo. He followed the canal for several years, on the Miami canal and on the Wabash and Erie canal in Indiana, for some time making his home at Terre Haute. From 1854 to 1861 he took to the business of steamboating on the Missouri, the Mississippi, the Red and the Yazoo rivers, rising to the dignity of



P. B. S. PINCHBACK.

a steward, which was the highest position a colored man could command in those days.

The career of Mr. Pinchback as a steamboat steward was brought to a termination by the outbreak of the civil war in 1861. The day he was 25 years old, May 10, 1862, he abandoned the steamboat Alonzo Childs at Yazoo City, Miss., ran the confederate blockade and arrived in New Orleans. He had scarcely arrived there before he had a difficulty with his brother-in-law, who was wounded in the affray. He was arrested on civil process and gave bail. Before his case came on for trial he was again arrested by the military, tried by court martial and committed to a term of two years in the workhouse on a charge of assault with intent to murder. He was committed to the workhouse May 25, 1862, but was released August 18 of the same year in order that he might enlist in the First Louisiana Volunteer Infantry, his enlistment being the condition of his release.

Soon after entering the military service Gen. B. F. Butler, then in command at New Orleans, issued his order calling upon the free men of color in the Crescent City to take up arms in defense of the union. Mr. Pinchback was made a recruiting sergeant and he opened an office for the enlistment of colored soldiers. On the 12th of October the Second Regiment of the Louisiana Native Guards was mustered into service with Captain P. B. S. Pinchback in command of Company A. His career in the army was brief but stormy. He strove to maintain his own dignity and the rights of the troops under his command. The Federal soldiers were as hostile to the black troops as the most belligerent rebels. Capt. Pinchback was in hot water all the time. He was in constant trouble with the street car officials, who ejected him time and again. He also had a difficulty with the colonel of his regiment, whom he accused of mistreating his men. His troubles came so thick and fast that September 3, 1863, he tendered his resignation and it was accepted.

But Capt. Pinchback could not be idle. He soon sought an interview with Gen. N. P. Banks, who succeeded Gen. Butler. The General was favorably impressed and issued an order permitting Capt. Pinchback to recruit a company of colored cavalry. The company was raised but a commission was refused to Pinchback because of his color. This act of injustice closed his military career. He did not again seek to serve his country as a soldier.

Mr. Pinchback soon turned his attention to political affairs. In the fall of 1865 he spoke in Mobile, Montgomery, and Selma, Alabama, denouncing the unjust treatment which the colored people were receiving at the hands of lawless and vicious men. April 9, 1867 he organized the Fourth Ward Republican Club in New Orleans, and he was elected a member of the republican state committee, a position he has occupied almost continuously since that time. He was appointed a commissioner of customs by Hon. Wm. Pitt Kellogg, May 22, 1867, Mr. Kellogg being collector of the port at that time. He, however, declined the position to become a candidate for a seat in the constitutional convention then about to be held. He was elected and was a leading member of the convention. He reported the civil rights article guaranteeing equality to all the citizens of the state. At the first election under the new constitution he was elected a state senator. In 1868 he was chosen a delegate-at-large to the Chicago convention which nominated Gen. Grant for the presidency.

The next year he entered into business and established the commission and cotton factorage house of Pinchback and Antoine. The firm did an immense business and had Mr. Pinchback kept out of politics, he would probably have become one of the wealthiest men in the world in a very short time. As it was he accumulated a handsome fortune.

In December, 1870, Mr. Pinchback engaged in the publication of the New Orleans Louisianian, which he continued about eleven years. It was the organ of the colored race. The same year he endeavored to organize a Mississippi river packet company but did not meet with sufficient encouragement and he abandoned the enterprise. December 6, 1871, he was elected president pro tem of the state senate to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Hon. Oscar J. Dunn, and became the Acting Lieutenant Governor of the state. The next year he was nominated as the republican candidate for governor. The federal office holders had previously nominated Wm. Pitt Kellogg for that office. There was also a democratic ticket in the field, which was certain of success unless a compromise could be made between the two wings of the republican party. Such a compromise was finally arranged and Kellogg was made governor while Pinchback was elected congressman-at-large; and the success of this mutual arrangement probably had the effect of continuing republican supremacy in Louisiana for three or four years. But there was a factional fight raging inside of the republican ranks, which could not fail to injure party domination in the

long run, and it seriously impaired the hope of Governor Pinchback continuing in the same prominence he had occupied since the close of the war. Governor Warmoth espoused the cause of Horace Greeley, and for a time acted with the democratic party. When the legislature convened Governor Pinchback was chosen United States senator, but the Warmoth republicans refused to vote for him, and although he was declared elected and received a certificate, there was so much doubt surrounding the case that the Federal senate refused to seat him. After a continued reference for three years, to the senatorial committee on elections, the right of Governor Pinchback to be sworn as a member was denied by a vote of 29 ayes and 32 noes. This contest was a very remarkable one. There was no other claimant for the vacant seat, and Gov. Pinchback was armed with full credentials for the place he sought, but his right to a seat was finally denied. While this long contest was pending the term of congress, to which Gov. Pinchback was elected as a member at large to the house of representatives, expired. The very remarkable picture was presented in this instance of a man holding certificates of election to both houses of congress, and though asking admission, he was not accepted in either house.

When the political troubles came on in Louisiana which followed the appointment of the National Electoral Commission, in 1877, Governor Pinchback managed to pay off some of his political debts. He was instrumental in having the Nicholls state government recognized, although the electoral vote of the state was counted for Mr. Hayes, while S. B. Packard, the republican candidate for governor against General Nicholls, had more votes in the state than were cast for the Hayes and Wheeler electoral ticket.

The political asperities existing within the republican party of Louisiana, measurably died away after the state passed under democratic control. One of the earliest acts of the administration of Governor Nicholls was to appoint Mr. Pinchback a member of the State Board of Education, a position he had already held with acceptability for six years. He was appointed an internal revenue agent March 5, 1879, and held the office until he was elected, from Madison Parish, to a seat in the convention called to remodel the first reconstruction constitution of Louisiana. He was a delegate at large to the Chicago convention of 1880, which nominated Garfield and Arthur, and when General Arthur became President after Guiteau's assassination of President Garfield, he appointed Governor Pinchback to the office of collector at New Orleans.

Although advanced in years beyond the ordinary life of students, Governor Pinchback entered the law school of the State University of Louisiana, in 1885, and April 10, 1886, he was admitted to the bar in the city of New Orleans, just one month before he was forty-nine years old. It is not often that a man passes through nearly a half century of existence before he makes application for admission to the bar in the courts of a great city, but it must be borne in mind that Governor Pinckney B. S. Pinchback is a very wonderful man. He would succeed where thousands of others fail.

Governor Pinchback is in the enjoyment of a large legal practice and is coining money. He is wealthy. There are few men of larger liberality than he. The vicissitudes of his life have been such as attach to the fortunes of very few men. Of large brain, of large heart and broad views, Governor Pinchback is a man to make himself felt wherever his future lines may be cast. He belongs to a race of men who could not be otherwise than aggressive, but his aggressions have always been found earnest, and honest, as the seeming right commanded the approbation of his judgment. The future of Governor Pinchback will likely be found as interesting as his past, if circumstances shall again call him into the seething turmoil of public strife.

BLANCHE K. BRUCE.

Here we have a man with a woman's name. He might as well have been named Mary or Jane as Blanche; but his mother gave him the name and that is all we know about it. He bears it worthily and well.

Blanche K. Bruce was born in Virginia, March 1, 1841. His parents were slaves, and he was born in bondage. In his early days his mother removed to St. Louis and he grew nearly to manhood in that city. While there, a little barefoot, ragged urchin, peddling newspapers on the levee, he was one day accosted by a gentleman who was hastily making his way down the levee, enroute to a steamboat which was nearly ready to pull out upon its destination for the lower Mississippi river, with:

"Here, you damned little nigger, take this satchel and carry it aboard that steamboat," pointing to it, "or I'll throw you in the river."

The boy took a package, nearly as big as himself, and hurried upon the steamboat. The owner of the luggage came aboard just as the stage-plank was being pulled upon deck, and the "damned little nigger" had to hustle ashore without getting one cent for his service as a carrier.



BLANCHE K. BRUCE.

Years passed by, and the owner of the satchel was a member of the United States Senate, from the great State of Missouri. His name was Lewis V. Bogy (pronounced Bozhee, with accent on the second syllable). While Mr. Bogy was a senator, Mr. Bruce was made a member of the senate from Mississippi. The Missouri senator had a bill pending which was of local importance. He went to Mr. Bruce, explained its importance, and solicited his vote. The colored man promptly responded that he would vote for the bill. He then proceeded :

“ Senator Bogy, do you remember a little ragged negro that carried your carpet-bag to a steamboat, years ago, at the St. Louis levee and only received a few divine curses for his service ? ”

“ Yes; ” said Mr. Bogy, “ what of it ? ”

“ Why, I am that contemptible little nigger, ” said Senator Bruce, “ and you owe me for that service yet. Of course I will vote for your bill. ”

Senator Bogy hastily made a computation of the value of that service with compound interest and tendered payment, which was promptly refused. The twain, however, repaired to the senate restaurant and “ smiled. ” Bogy and Bruce remained firm friends until the death of the former.

After the war of negro independence Mr. Bruce entered Oberlin College, and took an elective course. His association with young gentlemen of general intelligence awakened a dormant thirst for knowledge and the practical application of scholarly information.

He migrated to Mississippi after the war and began life as a planter, believing that to be his vocation in life. In 1868 he took an active part in political affairs. Two years later he was sergeant-at-arms of the Mississippi Senate, and while in that capacity was thrown in active contact with the best men of the state. He filled the office of assessor for his county, and was subsequently made sheriff. Then he was chosen a member of the Board of Levee Commissioners for the Mississippi river.

In 1874, Mr. Bruce was made a senator of the United States from Mississippi. He served a full term. During his senatorial career he was the friend of Roscoe Conkling, who conducted him to the bar of the Senate when he was first sworn into office. He was made Register of the Treasury under the regime of Mr. Garfield and is to-day doing a pension business in Washington. Blanche K. Bruce is a big man every way.

THE COLORED MINISTRY.

In presenting a few sketches of the success in life that has attended former slaves, after being released from bondage, it is appropriate that honorable mention should be made of men who have devoutly stepped into the sacred desk and labored with zeal and efficiency for the benefit, temporal and eternal, of their fellow-men. In doing so it is fair to say the writer thinks there must be intense disgust in the minds of honorable people at the expression of Booker T. Washington, a colored man, holding the honorable position of president of the Tuskegee Normal School, in a communication which he furnished to the *Christian Union*. After stating that three-fourths of the Baptist ministers and two-thirds of the Methodist "are unfit, either mentally or morally or both, to preach the Gospel to anyone or to lead anyone," the honorable professor subsides into flippancy and says:

The character of many of these preachers can be judged by one, of whom it was said that while he was at work in a cotton field, in the middle of July, he suddenly stopped, looked upward and said: "Oh, Lord, de work is so hard, de cotton is so grassy, an' de sun am so hot—I belive dis darkey am called to preach." With few exceptions the preaching of the colored ministry is emotional in the highest degree, and the minister considers himself successful in proportion as he is able to set the people in all parts of the congregation to groaning, uttering wild screams, and jumping, and finally going into a trance. One of the principal ends sought by most of these ministers is their salary, and to this everything else is made subservient.

It may be feared that many white ministers, highly educated and very devoted to the work of human salvation, have an eye to their salaries as the chief end of man; and they make everything else subservient to a payment into the treasury of the Lord, for the behoof of the educated ministry, of a sum of money that will make them independent when they grow old and are "retired" by the order of the congress of the church. Very few—ah, how few—of the educated white divines of the day surrender a fat living to go into the wilderness and preach for a bare subsistence! The number of men who have done this thing, under the call of Jehovah, are scarcer than hen's teeth, of mythical anatomy. Ye proud divines, who condemn the service of colored ministers, are no better than they. Everyone of you work for pay, and you would be driving wagons, in all probability, in case your churches should sit down upon your ministration. There is not, in all the United States, a more devout set of churchmen than the colored ministers of the

South, who preach the Gospel to men of their color as best they know how, for a bare subsistence. They follow the calling of the Master, in spirit and in truth. The highest realm of the churches would be glad to welcome them in the pulpit, *except for their color!*

History does not tell us the color of the humble fishermen, called in the name of Jesus, when he planned the way of universal salvation. It is scarcely probable that any of them were of the classes from whence the nations of the north spread over the barren soil of Europe, and finally adventured to America, perhaps before the discoveries of Columbus. The followers of the meek and lowly Savior belonged to the southern climes of Europe and Asia. They were of the classes of men to whom Christ gave the edict "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." When he sent them forth he gave them a line of service which the white men of to-day have failed to follow. He said: "Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses. Nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes nor yet staves; for the workman is worthy of his meat."

If the churchmen of to-day were required, at final judgment, to conform to the edict of the Great Master, it is to be feared that the bottomless pit would be inhabited by whites and blacks in proportion to their numerical order, without reference to their means of education. Educational lines would be a reproach to the white race. Then the golden rule might be amended to read: "Do unto others as ye have done unto them."

REV. HARVEY JOHNSON.

In Fauquier county, Virginia, August 4, 1843, Harvey Johnson entered upon existence, the son of slave parents. He happened to belong to a class of people willing to accord to their servants an exercise of religious freedom, even though they were unable to enjoy personal freedom. He remained in slavery until the days of the war, and when federal troops took possession of the surroundings of Washington, Mr. Johnson found no difficulty in going within the union lines, where he had the protection of the federal troops. Afterwards he took a course of study at the Wayland seminary, in the city of Washington, supported by anti-slavery friends. In 1872 he began to preach, and in the fall of that year he was called to the Union Baptist church at Baltimore, Maryland. He occupies the pulpit of that church to-day. He is an educated minister of the gospel, has an interesting family, and



REV. HARVEY JOHNSON.

he is exerting his utmost efforts to promote the negro race in the social and religious scale.

Mr. Johnson is in no sense a politician. His professional work occupies his whole time, coupled with a devoted interest in the cause of education. He is doing all that his soul and body can endure to make his people known and honored among men. His logic, his eloquence and his devout spirit, would introduce life into many a white congregation, provided he could spread a mask over his facial anatomy and pose before the people as a fair skinned person. Verily, the face of the Lord in eclipse is antagonistic to the accomplishment of the salvation of souls. The loyal white element is not disposed to trend unto salvation by the side of the negro who has faith in God.

REV. PROFESSOR HOLMES.

In contradistinction to most of the people of the black race, who started in life under adverse circumstances, Prof. Holmes is an example of the fact that many southern masters were just and humane. He is still a young man, comparatively speaking, and will probably be able to do much for the advancement of his race before he ceases his life of labor and devotion to the cause of his people. It has been a favorite theory since the war to represent the Southern people as brutal and inhuman in the treatment of their slaves, but Prof. Holmes is a living example of the fact that many educated men of the African race will voluntarily stand up and testify to the contrary.

William E. Holmes was born at Augusta, Georgia, January 22, 1856. He was a slave. His father belonged to one master and his mother to another. They lived for a while on adjacent plantations and were not forbidden family privileges. Their association was harmonious, and their social relations were not disturbed until the mother of Holmes was hired abroad to a contracting carpenter, a man of generous feelings and impulses, who gave her large personal liberty. The carpenter took a liking to the son of his hired employe and made him a favorite. He went with his master in all his travels, and had a bed in the family mansion as well as a place at the family table. Still the master was not in favor of the abolition of involuntary slavery.

Mr. Holmes had the advantage of books and papers, and at an early age became a fair scholar. After the close of the war the devoted mother gave her son the advantage of good instruction from 1865 to 1871. He became a proficient scholar.

Having united with the Baptist church, Mr. Holmes renewed his studies at the Augusta Institute and the Atlanta Seminary, where he graduated in 1881. He had already been ordained to preach, but he continued his studies at Yale University for two years, making a specialty of the study of the Hebrew language. He was made corresponding secretary of the Missionary Baptist convention of Georgia in May, 1883, and since that date he has wrought earnestly for the upbuilding of his church and his race in the South. He is recognized as a ripe scholar, a deep thinker, and his lectures have received a wide admiration.

Prof. Holmes is a truly pious man, a scholar and a worker. He does not make his labor a specialty for his race, but takes in his line of study and assistance all the men of the world. His heart is as big as the universe though his color is black. **May God give to the world many men like Prof. Holmes.**

REV. R. B. VANDERVALL.

This gentleman first saw the light of day near Nesley's Bend, on the Tennessee river, about ten miles above the city of Nashville. His father was a Virginia slave, owned by a man named Carroll Foster. His mother was a slave woman, the property of one Major Hall, who emigrated from Virginia to Tennessee and settled about ten miles above the city of Nashville. The Rev. Dr. Vandervall is now about 59 years old.

When seven years old the little boy Vandervall was hired out at public sale, on New Year's day, pursuant to a statute then prevailing in Tennessee. He had never lived in a white family, and when an old man came to him saying, "Come with me," the boy was badly frightened. He was snatched from his mother's arms, placed on a horse bare-back and made to ride twenty-two miles across the country. He was thus ruthlessly cut loose from all the dear ties of earth.

In his new abode the poor boy, who had neither home nor name, was made to sleep at night rolled up in a piece of rag carpet, where he cried himself to sleep night after night. In time he became accommodated to his situation. He slept in the house with the white family, and repeated the prayer nightly taught by his slave mother. He enjoyed one privilege—he was allowed to attend school.

When ten years old the poor boy was taken to Nashville, where he was hired to a minister of the gospel named Garrett. While residing there the estate of his old master, who had died, was par-



REV. R. B. VANDERVALL.

titioned. He was purchased by Mr. Vandervall, whose name he continues to bear.

John Vandervall, the son of the master, took a liking to the lad and continued the instruction that had been begun by Mr. Garrett. He had a religious turn of mind and attended weekly prayer meetings, where he prayed and began to exhort. He took a wife and began to work on a railroad, so that he might pass a part of his time with his companion in the journey of life, but his master found that he could read and write, and feared his intelligence. He threatened to sell him south. The consequence was the young man ran away. He afterwards returned home and was hired to a man at Nashville on his own terms, paying his master \$200 a year for the privilege.

About this time Mr. Vandervall had a queer dream. He thought he was sold to a cotton planter, and, fearing that the dream would come to a reality, he made a proposition to his master for his own purchase. The offer was accepted, and he paid a stipulated sum every year. When he had paid \$500 his master made a bargain to sell him into Texas. He ran away a second time.

This time friends intervened and the money for his purchase was paid. He took the advantage of his freedom, educated himself and began to preach. He afterward undertook the purchase of his wife, and had made the last annual payment for her liberty when the civil war broke out, which would have given her freedom.

Perhaps the most remarkable instance of delivery from servitude is to be found in the case of Dr. Vandervall. After the war he settled in East Tennessee and took a lively interest in the education of his race. He continued his own culture and has taken high rank in the institutions of the South for the education of the colored race. He has earned and received several educational degrees. Mr. Vandervall has two sons who are ripe scholars.

The case of this noble gentleman of color affords a notable instance of success under difficulties. If ever a pension was deserved it is in his case. He is to-day modestly pursuing the avocation of a cultured Christian minister.

JOHN R. LYNCH.

The history of the negro race abounds with cultured orators whose electricity has astonished the world. Among those who have established a name and a fame within the United States, no man is entitled to prominence above that of John R. Lynch.

The South has produced a colored citizen, in the person of Mr. Lynch, who has maintained his manhood, to the honor of his race and his own place in history.

John R. Lynch was born in Concordia parish, Louisiana, September 10, 1847. He was a slave and continued in the life of a slave until he was freed by the acts of emancipation. He had no education in early life, and emerged from the reign of despotism in utter ignorance of the qualities God had given him. But the light cannot be hidden completely, even when it is under a bushel measure. In the face of his training as a field hand, Mr. Lynch has risen to eminence, and is to-day recognized as a power within the land.

When the union troops took possession of the city of Natchez, his mother, who had saved some means, gave her son the benefit of private instruction. He made himself acquainted with the written history of ancient and modern times. His first venture in business was in photography. While operating a gallery in Natchez Gov. Ames appointed him a justice of the peace at Natchez. In the fall of 1869 he was elected to the legislature of Mississippi. He was re-elected in 1871, and was made speaker of the house of representatives near the close of the session. From the state legislature he was made a member of Congress, and served in the Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses. He was again elected, fairly, to the Forty-seventh Congress, and contested the seat of the despicable General Chalmers, of infamous Fort Pillow memory.

While awaiting a report of his case on the part of the house committee on privileges and elections for the Forty-seventh congress, Mr. Lynch was one day found walking along Pennsylvania avenue, of the city of Washington, by a gentleman who had frequently observed his familiar figure. He was hailed and this question asked of him:

“Can you tell me, my man, where I can find a competent carriage driver? I prefer a colored man.”

Mr. Lynch said he was not aware of any person needing such employment, but there were doubtless many such, and he promised to make inquiry, at the same time making a note of the gentleman's name and address.

“You seem to be pretty well informed as to the localities of Washington and Georgetown, as I often see you moving around. Why cannot I employ you? Evidently you are out of a job. What are you doing anyhow?”

"You are right in saying I am out of a job just now," was the reply of Mr. Lynch, "but I hope to have one pretty soon. I am contesting the seat of Gen. Chalmers in congress and think I am very liable to get it."

The inquirer looked at the negro in a surprised manner, and then remarked: "I supposed I was talking to a 'nigger' and not to a statesman. Times seem to have changed. Good day."

He walked off with a bug in his ear.

When the national republican convention met in Chicago in 1884, Mr. Lynch was made temporary chairman of that body, beating Powell Clayton, ex-senator from Arkansas, for the honor. He is the only negro who ever presided over a national convention of any party within the United States. His knowledge of parliamentary law, acquired while speaker of the House of Representatives of Mississippi, stood him in good place. He ruled decorously, wisely and acceptably.

Mr. Lynch is married to a southern colored lady, and manages a plantation in the vicinity of Natchez with credit and profit to himself and family. He is moving quietly in private life, but is likely to resume political life at any moment. He is respected and honored by all who know him, whites and blacks alike.

JOHN M. LANGSTON.

There lives to-day at Petersburg, Va., a gentleman of distinction, though of negro blood, who deserves the high regard of his countrymen who admire true greatness whether clothed in a white or black skin. John M. Langston was born in Louisa county, Virginia, December 14, 1829. He bears in his veins the blood of three races of men—the negro, the Indian and the Anglo-Saxon; but his mother was a slave and in pursuance of the edict of the law made by white men he was born in slavery, although his father was his master. He bears the name of his father and differs from many of his fellow slaves of other days in this—that he was not emancipated by circumstances growing out of the war of the rebellion, but was made free by the last will and testament of his master, and that instrument made provision for his education. He does not, perhaps, fall within the classes designed to be supplied with a pension under the Vaughan ex-slave pension bill, but he presents such an illustrious instance of great ability and force of character, and as one of the men who have been ranked as negroes, that it is meet and proper that he should receive an honorable mention among the noble men who have sought to raise the

black race to a position of deserved respect and prominence. On his mother's side Mr. Langston lays claim to the distinction of having descended from Pocahontas—a distinction that he divides with many high-born Virginia families.

Made free by virtue of his father's will, John M. Langston was sent in early life to Ohio with a view of receiving proper instruction. He was received as a student at Oberlin College in 1844 and graduated from that university in 1849. He was thus launched upon the sea of life a free man of liberal education fully thirteen years before Abraham Lincoln issued his first proclamation of emancipation. After his graduation at Oberlin Mr. Langston made application for admission to a law school at Ballston Spa, near Saratoga, managed by Prof. J. W. Fowler. He was denied admission *on account of his color!* Inasmuch as his facial appearance and other prominent features did not mark his origin, he was advised by friends to claim that he was a Spaniard, hailing from the West Indies or South America, so that he might secure matriculation in the law school. But his better judgment rebelled against any attempt at deception. Mr. Langston turned away from Ballston with a sad heart in order that he might try his fortunes elsewhere. He met with another rebuff at the Cincinnati law school, and then concluded to read law in the office of some private instructor. But in this field of learning he met with scarcely better success.

After repeated failure to secure a student's place in a private law office, Mr. Langston obtained the loan of some elementary works from the library of Hon. Sherlock J. Andrews, of Cleveland, and began a system of self-instruction, receiving occasional suggestions from and making recitations to his preceptor. But this method of instruction was so unsatisfactory and was attended with so many difficulties that Mr. Langston finally concluded to abandon the law. He returned to his old *alma mater* at Oberlin and took a theological course, graduating in that department in 1853. But his heart was set upon a legal education, and he finally effected an arrangement whereby he entered the law office of Hon. Philemon Bliss, at Elyria, Ohio, where he devoted himself to the study of law with singular assiduity. In the course of twelve months Mr. Langston made application for admission to practice in the local courts. The presiding judge selected a committee for his examination consisting of one whig and two democratic attorneys. The committee was sensibly impressed with Mr. Langston's profound and varied learning, his elementary knowledge of

the law being perfect and his general knowledge equal to that of a belles-lettres scholar. His admittance to the bar was recommended, but here the color line was struck to his discomfiture, the question of the right of a court to give a certificate to a negro having been raised. About this time, however, the supreme court of Ohio decided, in an election contest, the term "negro or mulatto" in the state constitution meant a preponderance of white or black blood. In the case of Mr. Langston it was readily shown that the preponderance of blood in his veins was white, and thereupon the local court made an order that he be sworn as an attorney. He was admitted to the bar October 24, 1854. It is doubtful whether any learned lawyer ever had greater difficulties in securing admission to practice before the civil courts than those which environed Mr. Langston in the early part of his career.

After his admission to the bar, Mr. Langston settled at Brownhelm, Lorain county, Ohio, upon a farm, but within a brief time was associated with Mr. Hamilton Perry, a profound lawyer, in the trial of a cause involving the title to lands. There were no colored people in the vicinity. The court, jurors, witnesses and other attorneys in the case were white men. Mr. Perry purposely entrusted the management of the cause to his associate, reserving to himself only the place of a consulting counsel. The trial of a case by a negro lawyer excited widespread local comment and the court was filled with spectators. The result of the trial was a sweeping victory for John M. Langston. Thereafter his fortune was made. Business flowed in upon him, and he had a larger practice than he was able to accommodate.

Mr. Langston's first appearance as an orator in the political field occurred in 1865. His reputation as a lawyer had been so great that he was invited to attend and address the May meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in that year, at the City of New York. His address was cultured and his eloquence magnetic. At the age of 36 years he found himself with a national reputation, and his name associated with that aggressive line of heroes whose mission was the destruction of African slavery within the United States.

For several years Mr. Langston was intimately connected with the cause of education in the State of Ohio, and gave special attention to the organization of schools for the education of the colored youth of that great state. He held the office of a school visitor by appointment, and he traversed from the lakes to the Ohio river, organizing schools wherever they were required and secured for

them a supply of teachers. He was engaged in this work when the war broke out in 1861. He immediately added to his efforts the patriotic work of encouraging enlistments for service in the field. He was instrumental in recruiting the 54th and 55th regiments of Ohio infantry, and after the enlistment of colored troops was permitted he recruited the 5th colored regiment, to which he presented a stand of colors. He visited Washington and asked of Secretary Stanton the privilege of recruiting a colored regiment to be officered by colored men. His project was endorsed and supported by the late James A. Garfield, but was not decided in time to enable him to participate personally in the acts of the war. After the war had concluded, in 1867, President Johnson appointed Mr. Langston minister to Hayti, but he did not accept the office. The same year, on motion of Mr. Garfield, he was admitted to practice law before the Supreme Court of the United States. He was at that time actively engaged in the organization of freedmen's schools under the appointment and instruction of General O. O. Howard, and he deemed the work of such importance that he would not leave it to go abroad. In this field of labor he continued until 1869, when was called to the professorship of law in the Howard University. He was made dean of the department and gave seven of the best years of his life to the up-building of that institution. The college has graduated many able law students, white and colored, male and female. During two years of his connection with the college he was its vice-president and president. The degree of L.L. D. was conferred upon him, marked by an impressive address from Gen. Howard.

During the administration of President Grant, it was his pleasure to name Mr. Langston as a member of the board of health of the District of Columbia, and he served six years or more, as the attorney of the board, and a part of the time as its secretary. In 1877 President Hayes appointed him minister resident, and consul general to Hayti, about ten years after he had declined a similar position under Andrew Johnson. This time he accepted and for about eight years did excellent and valuable service in his diplomatic relations. He was very popular at the Haytien Court, and stood high with the representatives of all governments represented in that republic.

In January, 1885, Mr. Langston resigned his foreign appointment and returned home the following summer, intending to resume the practice of his profession. He found, however, that he had been chosen, by the board of education of Virginia, president

of the Virginia Normal School and Collegiate Institute, and a large annual appropriation was made for the maintenance of the institution. His success in managing this great university has been phenomenal, and has called forth the highest encomiums of those associated with him, and of the state officers of Virginia.

In 1888 Mr. Langston was induced, much against his will, to accept a nomination for congress in the Petersburg district and would have unquestionably have been elected by a large majority but for the antipathy of the friends of Gen. Mahone, who induced Mr. R. W. Arnold to run as an independent republican candidate against him. According to the official returns Mr. E. C. Venable (dem.) received 13,299 votes in the district ; Mr. John M. Langston (regular rep.) received 12,657 votes, and Mr. R. W. Arnold (ind. rep.) received 3,207 votes. For reasons not necessary here to state, Mr. Langston contested the seat of Mr. Venable, and the contest was decided in Mr. Langston's favor September 23, 1890. It is understood that Mr. Langston's contest was impeded by the active opposition of Gen. Mahone and his friends.

Among the men who have risen from the cradle of slavery to eminence none stand higher than Mr. Langston. He is a noble product of our free and liberal institutions. There is a brilliant life yet awaiting him.

CONCLUSION OF SKETCHES.

It would be impracticable, in the space allotted to a volume like the one in hand, to include even a brief sketch of the many distinguished descendants of African parents, who have been born in slavery but who have carved for themselves an enduring reputation in subsequent lives of honor and successful struggle against the untoward circumstances of their birth. It would be a pleasure to narrate the achievements of such a man as the Rev. W. J. Simmons, who distinguished himself as a Christian minister and a man of letters. While discharging the duties of the presidency of the State University at Louisville, Ky., Dr. Simmons wrote and published a volume entitled "Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising," which is almost invaluable as a delineation of those negro men of ability who have honored their race in every department of life. There have been very many others who have emerged from the barbarism of slavery, and through trials and dangers, equal to the sufferings of the children of Israel during their forty years of wanderings in desert and wilderness, they have come forth at last to benefit the human race. It may seem unfair to omit honorable mention of any of them, but the purpose

in view is not to praise, but to make a plea for justice, long delayed, and in doing so to satisfy the general reader that the sons of slavery have earned a recognition in the lives and services of those of their number who have been able to outgrow the conditions surrounding their birth, and to become useful to the world in their day and generation.

Perhaps it may be said that the writer of these pages has singled out a few illustrious examples, and that comparatively few negroes could, under any circumstances, cope with Dr. Simmons, Frederick Douglass, John M. Langston, John R. Lynch, Robert B. Elliott, Robert Smalls, Samuel R. Lowery, John Wesley Terry and others, some of whom have been biographically sketched in these pages, while it has not been convenient to make creditable mention of all of them. Such, indeed, may be the fact. It would possibly be right to go one step farther, and to say that even the advantages of learning and fortune would not fit all negroes to rank with the men whose names have been mentioned. But because all of the dusky race cannot rise to eminence in the learned professions, in skilled trades or in the strife of arms, it does not follow that a great nation should refuse to those of the race a proper recognition for their lives of toil who have been held in bondage for years, and even for generations, and who have finally been turned loose by that nation to starve and die without any resources whatever.

Those captious critics who would suffer the ex-slaves to look upon their freedom from involuntary servitude as a full and complete recompense for their former years of captivity, because all of them have not shown their capacity to become statesmen and scholars, are reminded that comparatively few white men, though free from birth, have been able to claim a rank with Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Irving, Bryant, Longfellow, Bancroft, Whittier and hundreds more, living and dead, who have given renown to our country in statesmanship, literature, science and arms. Yet courts, congress and legislatures have always been ready to award a full measure of damages to white men who have suffered wrong in any way at the hands of the nation, the states or the people. Only in the case of the negro do we find an indisposition to right a wrong that has followed the sad fortunes of that race from the time when their forefathers were dragged unwilling captives to American soil and loaded down with the galling chains of slavery. The error is as old as the government—yea, older than that—it began with the discovery of the

western hemisphere and has continued unto the present day, in spite of the work of emancipation which bade the black man lift up his head and snuff the air of liberty as the natural right of man. But liberty without compensation for the long era of slavish toil is but a mockery of justice.

In how many instances has the book of time recorded the fact that some poor mortal has been made the victim of a chain of circumstances which dragged him from his home to become the inmate of a prison cell? In the lapse of time his innocence was established. The state made haste to unbar the prison doors and set the victim free. In all such cases a reparation for the wrong of imprisonment has been made from the public treasury. And the money value, fixed as a recompense for the years of anguish, torture and imprisonment, has been gauged by a liberal if not a lavish hand. It was due to the victim of the law's mistake, that he should be treated with a generosity commensurate with the injustice he suffered on the part of the state when it laid its hand upon him in error and branded him as a felon stained with crime.

If the state stands ready to offer liberal remuneration to the citizen who has suffered a term of imprisonment in obedience to an error of a court of justice, how much the more ready should a great government always be to repair its error in holding a countless class of its subjects in the horrors of vassalage during generation after generation of mankind? In the one case the prisoner was suspected of a crime which subsequent events demonstrated he did not commit. In the other case there was not even an unjust suspicion of wrong-doing upon which the torture of captivity could be exercised. The misfortune of caste alone served the purpose of burning the brand of slavery upon the backs of myriads of human beings. Might was law and right was not recognized. The toil, the sweat, the groans, the tears, and even the blessings of years of human slavery, stand up in a line together and appeal to the congress of the United States to be just to the injured men and women of the negro race who have borne the heat and burden of the era of slavery, and who have lost home and fireside in answer to a prayer for human freedom!

Incidental to the advancement made by former subjects of slavery, since the acquirement of their freedom, it may be stated that the free people of color within the United States have presented some notable examples of eminence in various departments of life; and the success of such persons has unquestionably wrought a wholesome influence upon the brightest of the negroes who

emerged from slavery. Animated by the knowledge that persons of their own color had acquired property, in a measure that gave them prominence and respectability, the freedmen who were ambitious of making the most of their new condition, made haste to secure education and then to apply that education in a practical and beneficent manner. Of course the plea for a pension to be granted to the freedmen of the former slave states does not apply to those persons of color who have been free from their birth. But no class of men will rejoice more heartily than negroes who have never been slaves to see ample justice done to their fellow men who have endured the distress of slavery in former days. In the days of the great civil war, when the first gleam of the sunlight of liberty seemed about to pierce the black cloud of bondage, all over the North and in many parts of the South, the first rays of political independence were watched for eagerly and welcomed with glad alacrity by no association of men with the same solicitude that characterized the free men of color. While universal freedom would add nothing to their well-being, except to extend their lines of usefulness and to enable them to enter upon a larger arena in the pursuit of commercial and business avocations, they had that natural love and affection for the people of their race that their hearts swelled with feelings of gratitude, patriotism and true christian devotion at the prospect of personal liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof. And when at last the edict went forth which surrendered the shackles of nearly six millions of human beings into the giant grasp of Abraham Lincoln, the anthem of praise and the voice of thanksgiving swelled up from the hearts of the free men of color in every part of the land with an enthusiasm that bespoke them a happy people, devoutly thankful to Almighty God for the boundless favor of freedom to all mankind without regard to race, color or previous condition of bondage.

That the goodly example of the best element of the original free negro population has had much to do in the amelioration of the condition of the ex-slaves there can be no manner of doubt or question. The history of the United States abounds with the glorious work of such noble men of the African race as Rev. W. B. Derrick, D. D., Rev. James A. D. Pond (deceased), Rev. Theodore Doughty Miller, D. D., Rev. Henry W. Chandler, and many other christian ministers of the gospel; J. D. Baltimore who had a high reputation as a mechanical engineer; and a musical composer of the ability of Henry F. Williams; such distinguished lawyers as James

C. Matthews, who was Mr. Cleveland's register of deeds at Washington, Alexander Clark, Prof. T. McC. Stewart, and a score of others of the same profession, dozens of distinguished physicians, and hosts of the ablest teachers in the land. In proportion to their number it may be seriously questioned whether there can be found within the confines of this great American union of states a more talented body of men than the professional and scientific citizens of color who were free from their childhood. In the race of progress they have kept even with the rapid advance of civilization, and during the last quarter of a century they have stimulated manhood, education and social eminence among their brethren released from the thraldom of slavery. While not beneficiaries themselves of the proposed act for the pension of freedmen it is very certain that the ex-slaves will not rejoice more heartily than the free men of color over the passage of such a just and righteous statute.

It may be safely assumed that the more the proposition shall be discussed, to extend a just and equitable system of pensions to the persons who were restrained of their natural liberty during a large portion of their lives, the greater favor it will find with all rational and thinking men. It has been very justly remarked in moral philosophy that "there is no excellence without great labor." It may also be said that no reform was ever proposed in government without encountering the severest criticism and opposition of ignorance, as well as of that class of capitalists who berate any act of justice which is likely to call for an assessment for taxation upon their stores of wealth. It is to be expected that the proposition to pension ex-slaves of this Republic will call forth bitter opposition, intense efforts at ridicule and sarcasm, and in many instances the most disgusting ribaldry and even obscenity. In truth the work of misrepresentation and detraction has actually begun.

Such newspapers as the Chicago *Herald*, the Nashville *American*, and the Cleveland *Leader*, have opened their batteries already, and while the style of objection is different in the several prints, the objective point is the same in every case—the vast expense to the tax-payers attendant upon the passage of an ex-slave pension law. In some instances it has been asserted that it will entail upon the federal treasury a tax of two hundred billion dollars within the next thirty years! Could anything be more ridiculous? Why, estimating the number of slaves emancipated from bondage at five millions, and if all of them were alive to-day, and the government

should pay into their hands a thousand dollars apiece, the total sum of the payment would only be five billion dollars, or one-for-tieth of the sum it has been gravely stated the passage of the proposed pension law will entail upon the government in thirty years time! As a fact, it may be said, the whole amount this pension act may call for will not amount to a tenth part of five billions.

But it is not the purpose of the writer to enter into an argument with the phantasy of a diseased or deluded brain. An appeal to logic and facts will be maintained in the face of derision. The enormous expense account attendant upon the passage of a just measure is not likely to frighten any person who desires to see the integrity of this great nation maintained in purity and reality. Had the people of the several states stopped to figure in 1861, when the shore batteries at Charleston were opened upon Fort Sumter, and had their cupidity exceeded their patriotism, it is probable there never would have been another shot fired after Major Robert Anderson and his gallant little band had made their surrender. But the expense attached to the maintenance of the war was not taken into account. Neither were the people appalled at a contemplation of the rivers of blood that must flow, the homes that must be made desolate, the dreary waste that must follow in the wake of contending armies, nor the millions that would be expended, year after year, for the pensions of union soldiers and their dependent families. After the lapse of nearly thirty years it is now found that the pension roll is many millions greater than it was when the angel of peace spread its wings over the land and put an estoppel upon the effusion of blood.

The questions to be decided are these: Was the act of emancipation right? Did the emancipation turn millions of slaves from homes of comfort into a condition of penury and want? Has the freedom of the negro entailed poverty upon the aged and helpless and made many of them the inmates of alms-houses and the subjects of public charity? If so, what is the plain duty of a great government to the helpless creatures whom it once rated as chattel property and compelled the taxation of their bodies for the support of the state?

These questions will have to be answered in the calmness of reason and not in the ribaldry of a cruel jest. Once presented fairly to the sober second thought of a justice-loving people, and the voice of humanity will speak to the hearts of the people, bidding them to do right at every hazard.

It has been already said that great reforms move slowly. But when they have once begun to move, there is no such thing as staying their onward march. When James G. Birney was first made the presidential candidate of the old liberty party in 1840, he received barely more than 7,000 votes in all the United States. He was a candidate again in 1844 and received 62,000 votes. The anti-slavery sentiment had begun to grow. Sixteen years later it swept the land, carrying down the old political organizations before it. It was persistent discussion that accomplished such a result. So will it be in the matter of righting the wrongs which our nation has suffered to exist. No ridicule, or denunciation, or effort to affright timid capital will be able to call a halt. The work in hand is right, and the right must and will prevail.

ADDRESS.

An open address to the Congressional Committee that now has, or that may hereafter have, the Ex-Slave Pension Bill before it for consideration, let me say:

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE:—In asking consideration for the rough draft of an act, which I conceive to be just, having in view the pensioning of freedmen who have become old since they acquired their freedom in pursuance of the two proclamations of ex-President Lincoln and of the acts of congress and of the conventions of sovereign states whereby an enslaved people were made free, I have to say, that you will find much to be added and a wide range for an interchange of opinions as to the methods that ought to be observed in putting such an important work into successful operation. The principal thought involved is justice towards a once enslaved race, and to afford a people who have been made citizens and participants in the affairs of the government, with the means of competing with their fellow men of other races and better surroundings in the combat of life. As long as these people were regarded as chattels—the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for those who chanced to be placed above them in the circumstances of life—their physical comfort was looked after by those who received the direct benefit of their manual labor. But in the course of human events these men have been made free, and they have started in the race of life in competition with a race that has never suffered the horrors and injustice of subjugation. It may be apparent to you, gentlemen, that in such a race the negro suffers an unspeakable disadvantage. To expect that he

would be able to perform well the part assigned to him in his new condition, is giving him credit for a superiority that does not attach to human existence. It was honorable to the government to accord him his freedom at a time when the life of the nation appeared to tremble in the balance, but that he should have made the very best use of freedom for the advancement of his own weal and that of his late fellow slaves was scarcely to have been expected. The wonder is, that he has done as well for himself as we observe him to have accomplished. Perhaps the white race, similarly circumstanced, could not have done more.

You will admit, gentlemen, that the government did not make the bondmen free from downright good will. It has been a boon accorded to the down-trodden because in the sturdy forms and physical strength of millions of slaves an element was seen that might be made useful in the suppression of a gigantic rebellion. It was manifestly the right and duty of those entrusted with the administration of the government to make use of those means which God and nature had placed within their power. Even President Lincoln, at the outset of the rebellion, said that if he could maintain the union by saving the institution of slavery, that he would save it. But he found that the salvation of the union depended largely upon the destruction of that institution, and he struck the blow that surely destroyed it. Since then congress has habilitated the freedmen with the right of franchise, and has opened to him the avenues of preferment. What the Negro lacks is the means placed in his hands that will enable him, and those that come after him, to hold up their heads and take a part in the avocations of life that will be honorable and just to an enfranchised race. This, gentlemen, congress can do by the passage of the bill before you into a law, after your wisdom and experience shall have perfected its details, and surrounded it with such safeguards as will make it a prudent law for the colored citizens, while the federal treasury will be sufficiently protected from fraud.

When the southern slaves were recognized as chattel property, subject to all the fluctuations of an article that possessed a marketable value, they were made the subjects of taxation, and as such contributed their share of revenue to the treasury, in one shape and another, enabling the government to declare war, conclude peace and to contract alliances. After having been the subject of taxation for the benefit of the government, that government has seen fit to strike the shackles from the limbs of the slave and to convert the chattel into a citizen. As a chattel, surrounded by an

implacable bondage, that could encompass no work but the service expected from vassalage, the negro could make no demand upon the government. Having been made a citizen without the asking of such a boon, it is the citizen that now arises and asks the government of which he is a part, to do by him that degree of justice that will enable him to perform an honorable part in life. Place in his hands the means to rival the white race and then judge him by the fruits of his afterwork. The bill before your committee, gentlemen, will go a long way in the direction of doing fairness and justice.

But there is another view of this question that is entitled to your candid consideration. Much of the prosperity that has attended northern communities since the conclusion of hostilities between the North and South, growing out of the late civil war, has come about in consequence of the quarterly distribution of pension money voted by congress to the surviving union soldiery. That source of prosperity has not extended to the Southern States in a very large degree. Comparatively few Union soldiers were enlisted at the South, and the number who have become residents of that section since the war make up but a light percentage of the general population. The passage of a measure that would place former slaves upon the pension rolls would not only be the performance of a delayed act of justice, to a once enslaved race, but it would occasion an expenditure of treasure throughout the entire southern region that would visibly enhance the material prosperity of all classes of people within that section. So it appears that every consideration of enlarged wisdom and political economy calls aloud for the passage of some such law as it is now your province to consider.

In conclusion, gentlemen, permit me to say that all great and generous nations have been ready and willing to make a valuable recompense for the wrongs they have perpetrated towards other nations or to individuals for errors of administration or acts of wrong or oppression. Indemnity between great states and growing out of a condition of war has been the rule of the world. Our own country exacted vast tribute from Mexico because of the war that raged in 1846 and 1847. The possession by us of California and the vast territories adjacent came to us in that way. France emptied into the coffers of Germany a nearly fabulous wealth in the settlement of their last appeal to arms. Great Britain did not hesitate to reimburse the people of this country with fifteen millions of money for the ravages committed upon American com-

merce during the existence of our civil war. But these things were not a tithe of the error endured for ages by the enslaved people of these states. We have sought in a measure to remedy that error, but the remedy so far provided only exhibits to public gaze the enormity of the wrong patiently endured, and for which the pending measure provides more complete and ample satisfaction. As we measure justice to a wronged race of people so it may be meted to us again should the hour of extremity ever come.

AN OPEN ADDRESS.

To the Colored Citizens of the United States born in slavery and liberated by means of general emancipation:

FELLOW CITIZENS:—Though not a member of Congress, charged with the enactment of laws for the weal of all citizens of our common country irrespective of race, class or condition, I am, nevertheless, one who has given the subject of your emancipation a candid study and considerable earnest thought, especially with respect to the changes it has entailed upon you and your progeny, and the just obligations which the government has assumed or ought to have assumed in extending to your race the boon of being made freemen. As one of the results of such thought and investigation, I have prepared and had presented in Congress, through the medium of my direct representative, a bill, which, in my estimation, will make substantial progress in conferring upon you the proper benefits of freedom and enable the younger generation to perform well their part in the high field of usefulness, wherein they have been made actors and participants. I am not prepared to say that the bill in question covers all the minutiae of a comprehensive and intelligent law, but in general I hope the benefits designed to be conferred are set forth with such precision as to be comprehensible in respect to the intent and purpose of the proposed act. Deficiencies can be readily supplied and errors—if found to exist—can easily be remedied. The main object in view will readily appear even to the most casual observer, and I am persuaded that reflection and observation will commend the measure to the approval of the sober second thought of the people.

The general tenor of the bill presented to Congress and to the people for the first time, comprehends the pensioning by the government of such of the African race as were born in bondage

and have been made free by the Emancipation Proclamation of Ex-President Lincoln and the laws of the United States and of the several states of the Union where slavery formerly existed, organic and statutory, which have been passed in pursuance of those proclamations or consistently therewith. In shaping such a law it has appeared just to me that a bonus in a suitable sum should be given to those older persons who stood the brunt of years of serfdom, and who in the order of nature have not long to remain amongst us in the enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. This bonus has been graduated in lesser sums to those recipients who are younger in years and whose prospect of longer life it appears to be natural to hope for, until a fair monthly stipend is only given to those who did not suffer greatly the rigors of unjust laws and who have the battle of life before them. As before stated, if anything is wanting to make the operation of the proposed law uniform and justly fair to the people sought to be benefited, that want can easily be supplied when it is found to exist. For the present a great work will have been done in case public attention can be drawn to the subject in hand and a general approval of the body politic secured.

It is proper for me to say that this subject is not a sudden impulse on my part, and I have not thrust it before the law-making power with undue haste. Many years have elapsed since the inspiration of the righteousness of some such measure first dawned upon my mind and since first I became persuaded that some such proceeding was merited and due to a down-trodden people. I have "made haste slowly" in bringing the subject to public attention. Like heroic old David Crockett I wished to "be sure I was right and then go ahead." To this end I have canvassed the matter dispassionately with many leading and active citizens — persons who were informed in public affairs — and have corresponded with a great many others who occupy high stations in civil life. With surprising uniformity I have found the subject to be one that has been new to the people, generally requiring thought and investigation to enable them to arrive at a conclusion in the premises. In looking over my correspondence, which has embraced experienced statesmen and law makers, I have not found that any of them have been ready to advance a project that seems to me just and equitable, and the performance of which ought not to be longer seriously delayed. When President Harrison was in the United States Senate I asked his opinion of the scheme now laid before Congress, but did not obtain his thorough assent to the

proposition. Others like unto him were halting between two opinions. As years have rolled away since this matter was brought to their attention it is to be hoped that they are now ready to lend a helping hand in the promotion and success of a worthy cause. It may be that direful opposition will be meted out to the measure now brought to the notice of the people, but I am buoyed up in my purpose to have it thoroughly agitated by the reflection that all great reforms have triumphed over persistent opposition.

In addressing the colored people directly interested in the proposed measure, I wish to enlist them actively in a matter that appeals personally to them and theirs. Their correspondence and encouragement is solicited, and suggestions looking to the furtherance of the scheme, beneficial mainly to them, which is now for the first time publicly proposed, are most respectfully solicited.

I have prepared the following petition in order that all petitions signed might be alike, and have caused the same to be extensively published and circulated, and reproduce it here that you and all friends of justice may carefully read the same, and aid me at once in securing signers to Congress, that a great national wrong may be righted.

TO THE PRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Very recently the subscriber sent to all newspapers whereof he had knowledge, which make a specialty of representing the sentiments and feelings of the African race, either in business, religion or politics, copies of "The Omaha Sunday Democrat" containing the text of house bill 1,119, introduced in congress by Hon. W. J. Connell, of the First Nebraska district, at the request of W. R. Vaughan, proposing a pension for ex-slaves who were made free by the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln and subsequent acts of congress, the same being confirmed by constitutional amendments and statutory laws of the several states adopted at later dates. In most instances the newspaper organs of the colored people have been silent touching a measure of unquestionable justice to the subjects of slavery emancipation, probably through a becoming sense of modesty on the part of the managers and publishers.

Believing that the newspaper which appeals directly to negro support must have the interest of the race at heart, the subscriber makes no hesitation in asking such papers to spread before their readers a petition of the general form and sentiment:

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES: Believing that the men and women who were held in slavery prior to the war of the rebellion are entitled to just recompense for their years of involuntary servitude, the subscribers appeal to the congress of the United States for the passage of "Vaughan's Freedmen's Pension Bill," introduced in congress June 24, 1890, by the Hon. W. J. Connell, of Nebraska. The measure we conceive to be right in spirit, and it bears the evidence of true economy in its preparation. It recognizes the right of the claim of freedmen for aid, but it leaves them in a condition requiring industry in order that they may procure a comfortable and permanent maintenance. Therefore the subscribers beg leave to appeal to the humanity of congress in session in favor of the passage of the Vaughan Freedmen's Pension Bill.

Your petitioners will ever pray:

NAME	White	Colored	RESIDENCE	If a former slave, No. of years	Age	If a soldier, How long

Petitions similar to the above and other communications may be addressed to W. R. Vaughan, either at Omaha, Neb., or Washington, D. C., as he proposes to open an office in the latter city at an early day, and all communications addressed to Omaha will be forwarded there. Cut out the above petition and attach it to a sheet of legal cap paper, or re-write the substance of it if deemed best. The work taken in hand will be pursued to success or until death shall prevent further effort.

Will the representative press of the colored race and other newspapers friendly to a great cause kindly publish this circular as a matter of news and in justice to an oppressed people? It is believed that appropriate petitions, once fairly circulated, will be very largely signed. Address,

W. R. VAUGHAN, Omaha, Neb.,
Or Washington, D. C.

AFRICA.

Concluding an appeal to the Congress, the States and the People, in behalf of the late subjects of slavery within the United States, it is just and fair to the subjects of a once enslaved race, to say to the readers of this volume, that it is a popular error which writes down the sons and daughters of Africa as barbarians from the beginning of time. They were not such, or all history is false in what it records of the human race. Speculation as to the correctness of the biblical version of the confusion of tongues and the separation of races, in the earliest ages of which we have any published account, would be vain. That the black race inhabited the continent of Africa is a point beyond dispute, but that they have always been ignorant, barbarous and brutal, is not sustained by any competent authority now extant. On the other hand the region of country lying north of the Great Desert is one of remote historical account, and it has been the seat of learning, science and vast mechanical skill. Egypt, and the country contiguous to the mouth of the Nile, has a history as old as civilization. But far back of any authenticated narrative of the present age, that country was peopled by a race of men cultured in the arts, sciences and useful mechanics, which are the rich heritages of a great, a powerful and a noble people. In the patriarchal ages Egypt was a land of corn and wine. When Western Asia was the seat of empire, where Abraham built the altar upon which to make a sacrifice of his son; where Jacob saw the ladder upon which angels were seen descending from heaven to earth, and returning to the regions of bliss again; where the brethren of Joseph sold him into captivity and sent him as a slave into Egypt, and by chance into the palace of the Pharaohs; from whence the sons of Jacob journeyed to Egypt for bread, when Palestine was famishing with hunger, and there found the brother of the striped coat, installed in the palace of the king; in that ancient day Egypt was the land flowing with milk and honey, while the balance of the known world was a barren desert, where Gaunt Hunger was the monarch of all he surveyed.

Within the reign of the Pharaohs, or following their control of empire, the Pyramids were built, and hecatombs were constructed, which have been the wonder of the world. Before the reign of the Cæsars began at Rome, the seat of civilization was in upper Africa. There temples were built, monuments were raised, and wonders performed which have excited the admiration of the

world during subsequent time. Who built the pyramids? What knowledge of mechanics did they possess by means of which solid stones, of the dimensions of 40,960 cubic feet, weighing 4,587,520 pounds, or nearly 2,300 tons, were elevated an hundred feet above the surface of the earth, and placed in a solid wall? Great men did this thing; and if we may believe the instruction of clearly convincing circumstances these men were Negroes!

Whatever may have been the blood of Cleopatra, whose arts led captive Mark Antony and defied the authority of the Cæsars, it cannot be questioned that she followed in the footsteps of the ancient Afric princes of Egypt. Although the black races of Northern Africa were driven across the desert and despoiled of their possessions, so did the power of the white race decline in Southern Europe, and the whole world was involved in darkness for many generations. It is not true that the Moors and other southern races of Europe were the progenitors of civilization in Egypt and the Barbary States. On the contrary, the Moors sprang from the expelled African races, driven out by internal dissensions of which there can be found no adequate account. The barbarism of the negro rose from civil strife, fomented and encouraged by the grasping avarice of foreign powers.

As a grand division of the globe, Africa is the second in point of size, only being exceeded by Asia. It is known to current history, and will be for perhaps more than a century to come, as "the dark continent" and the land of mystery. During the nineteenth century a good deal has been done to open it up to us by the enterprise of explorers, the zeal of missionaries, the perseverance of commercial speculation and the military aggressions of dominant European powers. England, France and Germany are contending for the mastery, and the success of either of them means the gradual extirpation of the savage African nations which have been driven from their ancient seats of empire to become the tribal occupants of more southern regions and sea coast settlements south of Sahara. From the ranks of those refugees, as they became involved in turmoil, one community against another, the pirates from Europe have peopled the states of North and South America with slaves.

Even after the explorations of such learned pilgrims in the cause of discovery as Mungo Park, David Livingstone and Henry M. Stanley, Africa is comparatively an unknown region; but the more it is explored the more convincing becomes the settled conclusion that its native population has grown up from scattered

fragments of colonies driven out of the northern region by the dread circumstance of war. The extent of its population is unknown. Some travelers and writers have estimated the native inhabitants to be as low as twenty-five millions of people, while others have stated one hundred millions to be too low a figure. All agree, however, that the progress of degradation has gradually gone forward since the days when the ancient population was driven away from home and possessions to become a race of wanderers upon the earth. In their first settlement, even in the wilderness, some of the pioneers carried with them a knowledge of mechanic arts and processes which have gradually been lost as the cloud of ignorance and superstition settled over the people. They built cities, the ruins of which have been found. They had great and elaborate works of art, and were successful as agriculturalists. There are yet to be found evidences of ancient religious training, showing that the races sprang from a parentage which believed in One Source and Supremacy of Eternal Power. But, as contact with the world was forgotten, barbarism became the rule; and in place of an abode of learning and useful arts "the dark continent" has supplied the world with the most lamentable examples of human misery and the most hideous instances of crime. As a strong community prayed upon a weak, and men and women were constantly made captives in war, even the savage heart became sated with rapine and butchery; and their reduction of captives to a condition of slavery followed just as naturally as the darkness of night follows the light of day.

The spoliation of ordinary robbers and buccaneers did not complete the work of African subjugation, the extension of primal slave-making having been the work of Christian nations, which carried the captives of robber chieftains into foreign lands. There the captive of the savage became the slave of the bible reading people, who daily blessed God because the creatures of bondage had fallen into the hands of pious people able to learn them the straight and narrow path that leads to the throne of heaven!

It has been truly remarked of Africa that the dark continent presents the singular anomoly of having been the home of ancient civilization, and the prey of the modern rapacity and plunder of all nations. It is natural, therefore, that in regard to the plundered portions of this vast area the world should be comparatively uninformed, even after the explorations of the last half century, which have given a wider knowledge of its physical geography.

and of the character of its savage inhabitancy than had hitherto been possessed.

As long ago as the fifteenth century explorers from Portugal made tours of examination and discovery along the east and west coasts of Africa. In that day Portugal was perhaps the first maritime power in Europe. The crown gave kingly encouragement to tours of discovery. These were prosecuted not only along the shores of Africa, in the eastern hemisphere, but extensively in the western hemisphere, with respect to North and South America and the West India islands, following the first discoveries of Columbus. This spirit of adventure gave to Portuguese merchants the advantage of learning the source of supplying vessels with slaves in Africa, and also of knowing a ready and valuable market in the new world. But while engaged in their explorations the Portuguese made valuable discoveries, which are of consequence in showing that many of the African tribes had maintained a fair order of civilization in spite of their forcible expulsion from their ancient realm into the savagery of the wilds lying south of the equator. Vasco de Gama made a voyage as early as 1497 which resulted in the discovery of Natal, Mozambique and a number of small islands off the coast of Africa, and in them he found a people which enjoyed a high state of commercial advancement and very many of the evidences of civilization which had come to them from the reign of Cleopatra and the time wherein the Cæsars ruled Egypt. With their banishment they had not degenerated into a savage state, but had maintained a fair degree of the eminent condition which pervaded Northern Africa in the palmy days of the splendor and refinement of their forefathers. True, they had fallen under the influence of the missionaries of Mohammed and adopted the faith of the prophet of Allah. But this fact is not surprising when it is remembered that the birthplace of Jesus Christ has become abject in its acknowledgment of Mohammedan rule, while Jerusalem, the city of the Great King, has a Mosque on the sacred spot where the Savior once expelled harpies and traders from the temple, declaring to them that they had made the Father's house a den of thieves. All over the land where the Man of Sorrows pursued his earthly ministry, and wrought his miracles, the prevailing religion to-day is that of Mohammed. No wonder, then, that the followers of the Prophet had extended their proselytism to the islands lying along the African coast, prior to the time when Vasco de Gama came among them with vessels from Portugal having the wings of the sea.

De Gama found, in the islands which he visited, a population enjoying all the elegant advantages of well-built cities, ports, mosques for the worship of Allah according to the teachings of the Moslem faith, and carrying on a valuable trade with India and the Spice Islands by means of rude boats propelled partly with oars and partly with sails of native manufacture. Vessels from Portugal regularly visited this region for a long series of years after the discovery of De Gama, and Portuguese merchants secured an affluent trade. In the meantime the news of the discovery went abroad, and other European powers established colonies at different places on the African coast; so that in the sixteenth century a general examination of the coast line of Africa was made from the mouth of the River Senegal, on the west coast, to the entrance into the Gulf of Aden on the east coast, being the south entrance into the waters of the Red Sea.

Notwithstanding these advances in matters of African exploration nearly two hundred years passed away before enterprising efforts were made to penetrate the interior of the continent. All that had been done amounted to a geographical and mercantile exploration of the coast line and the establishment of a few commercial settlements. The English government effected a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, and with characteristic enterprise occupied the territory immediately tributary to their colony. From this base of operations that government has spread out its work of aggrandizement until it now controls the bulk of the African trade. But in all that the agents of the British nationality have discovered, there has been no fact brought to light which will gainsay the theory that the Negro races of Africa, however barbarized or unlettered, have not been the descendants of a civilized condition of society at some remote era. Those tribes which have been most oppressed, and made the subjects of incursions by more powerful bands, in the interests of slave traders, have sunk deepest into degradation. It is those which have been able to maintain a well regulated system of defense, and to keep at bay predatory incursionists, that present to strangers who have visited them the evidences of natural superiority and the unmistakable indications of having known a better day.

It was not until 1795 that Mungo Park, an adventursome Scotch explorer, who had conceived the idea of breaking the shell of outer Africa, and penetrating the interior, with a view of learning what might be found there, proceeded to put his enter-

prise into operation. After two years of hardship and privation he returned to Great Britain and published a volume recounting his discoveries and hair-breadth escapes, which, for a time, were the marvels of the world, surpassing the captivating stories of fiction. His narrative was reduced to entertaining simplicity, published partially in school books, and in small volumes for the attraction of youth. But the point with which we mainly have to deal is the fact that he found the Mohammedan religion prevailing along the banks of the Niger, carrying out the idea that even the barbarous tribes furnished evidence of having descended from a higher plane of life. Mungo Park made a second voyage to Africa in 1805, and lost his life by drowning on the upper waters of the Niger, where he was ambushed by natives in a narrow pass, and sought to escape by swimming to the opposite shore.

The observations of Mungo Park and the discoveries made by him whetted the desire for further information. Denham and Clapperton, English merchants, in 1822, fitted out a caravan from Tripoli, on the Mediterranean sea, from whence the expedition crossed the Great Desert and reached Lake Tchad, on the line dividing the districts of Kanem and Bornu, in interior Africa, from which point an extensive exploration of contiguous territory was made. This expedition confirmed many of the theories of Mungo Park in the conclusion that South Africa had once been a seat of great enterprise, accompanied with a fair degree of civilization.

With the later discoveries of Dr. David Livingstone, and, following him, of the intrepid American adventurer, Henry M. Stanley, the reading people of the whole world are fully familiar. While the people of almost every land on the globe are perusing the last narrative of Stanley, it is unnecessary to repeat the conditions which he has found to exist. He has imparted sufficient information for cultured men to arrive at the just conclusion that Africa has not always been the dark continent as it now appears to us, but that it has been the theater of great exploits in the past ages, the record of which has been lost to mankind.

This line of thought and deduction has been pursued by the writer with a view of convincing men of the white race, who may take time to peruse this volume, that the negro race is capable of the highest degree of civilization, and that the dusky people of African extraction can maintain a place with honor along side of the most famous nations of the globe. All that is required to prove the force and truth of such a theory is to give the negro a fair

start in life as a newly made freeman; and in no way can this work be more speedily and satisfactorily accomplished than by giving an adequate compensation to those of the race who have been unjustly held in vassalage from their youth up. While righting a wrong the men and women who have suffered wrong will be started upon a new existence. They will hold up their heads in pride, because the country they love and have served, both in bondage and as freemen, has had the courage to do them justice.

It would be manifestly unjust to the negro people of America for this discussion of what Africa has been in the past, to be closed without calling attention to a criticism which has been often indulged, even by men holding high places in the government.

The objection has been raised against the Negro, as a distinctive feature of the human race, that his subjugation and reduction to a condition of slavery constituted an unanswerable argument against his capacity of maintaining a high standard of excellence after having arrived at such an eminence. Surely this view has not been well taken, and facts certainly will not support it. Because Africa has been the seat of learning and empire, and has been peopled by a race who builded cities and towns and monuments of greatness, and, after the lapse of ages, her population became dispersed, her knowledge of learning destroyed and the genius of her great inventors brought to nought, it cannot be said that other people of various races have not suffered the same degradation and humiliation. The researches which have been made upon American soil teaches the unmistakable lesson that in this land there once existed a nation, or nations, taught in the highest degree of scholastic information. The buried cities which have been brought to light tell the story of lost greatness in terms that cannot be misunderstood.

Beginning with the researches of John L. Stephens in Central America, and adding to the information which he imparted to the world the subsequent discoveries of other explorers, we must admit that the North American continent was peopled, in a forgotten past, by races of men who were skilled in all the arts and sciences requisite to make enlightened nations. They builded cities, raised temples and monuments and conducted a thriving commerce, of which convincing traces have been found.

Who were these people? Whence did they come? How were they overthrown? Was it by the arms and prowess of conquerors, or by some terrible commotion of nature? If the former, what became of the conquerors? If the latter, may it not be equally true

that the learning, the greatness and the productive wealth of ancient African nations fell before the hurricane, the whirlwind or the earthquake of nature, just as American cities were buried and wiped out of existence?

When Christopher Columbus discovered the western hemisphere, he found here tribes of savages of a lineage before unknown to the world. As subsequent discoveries were made in new quarters there continued to be found tribes differing in some features, but preserving the general outlines of one people. Whether these tribes descended from an ancient population which dwelt in cities and pursued avocations of civilized life, cannot be known. All is a matter of conjecture and speculation. But the fact remains that the work of destruction once swept over the land wherein we live, just as it did over the continent of Africa. Whether the besom of destruction was simultaneous in both hemispheres, or whether countless ages intervened between the visitation of wrath in the two lands, is a problem which may never be solved. But the conclusion is irresistible that the negro race is no more accountable for the destruction which visited Africa, than that the races found on American soil can be held responsible for the overturning of the empire which once flourished here.

In her day Babylon was a great city, the home of prophets and patriarchs, the seat of learning, luxury and fabulous wealth. Her rulers were the most powerful men of earth. The glory of the great city was the wonder of the world, and her splendor appeared likely to endure forever. That city fell, and the site where it existed is the abode of the howling hyena and other savage beasts of the forest. The Negroes who dwelt in the buried cities of Africa should not be regarded as careless defenders of their pristine glory any more than that the Asiatic natives should be gibeted for having suffered Babylon to fall.

The duty of the men of the present day is to discard all cavil, and to face manfully the stubborn fact that the government of the United States did, for three-quarters of a century, suffer a gigantic wrong to be perpetrated upon an enslaved race. The stigma of that wrong will endure forever, unless the government shall recompense the survivors of the race who patiently endured such a flagrant act of injustice. The performance of an act of justice owing to the ex-slaves of the United States, will redound to the honor of a great nation and will receive the admiration and encomium of all the generous and noble people of the world.

ADDENDA.

Since the foregoing pages were written and thrown out for the candid consideration of reading and thinking persons of every class, race, and sex, the author has visited several States and has discussed his views in public meetings, composed of ladies and gentlemen of both white and black color—of the Caucasian race as well as of Ethiopian lineage. Wherever the subject of a pension to a class of citizens who have been kept for ages in bondage against their will, and in defiance of human right, has been candidly discussed, the justice of the proposition advocated in these pages has been freely admitted, and the objections advanced; whenever any have been seriously raised or merely suggested, have invariably been directed in a single channel,—the vast expense attendant upon the extension of the pension rolls so as to include the millions of people who were held aforesome in the bonds of servitude. This objection, which is the material cause of opposition from all sources, partakes of the same nature as the logic so often indulged in former years by philanthropically inclined slave-holders when they assigned reasons for not emancipating their own slaves. Since the era of the formation of this republic, as well as in colonial days, and in the years antedating that period, there has existed a fair percentage of the slave-holding classes which heartily anathematized the existence of the institution of human slavery, and which would have yielded readily to an edict of emancipation that would not have entailed a burden, seeming to be intolerable, upon themselves. When the condition of a great civil war spread its pall athwart the land the way was opened for the setting of an oppressed race free, regardless of the master's will. But as has been fully shown in the preceding pages the thunder-stroke of freedom, when it descended upon the land, shattering in fragments all preconceived ideas and conditions, in no wise provided compensation, even in a remote degree, for the unwilling subjects of years of unrequited toil and inhuman bondage. The Government, at the will and behest of its temporary administrators, turned adrift from homes of comfort and abundance for the wants of the physical man millions of human beings whose toil and labor had enriched the nation as well as the masters of the emancipated serfs. The requiting of the wrong so long perpetrated and so suddenly destroyed, entailing misery in thousands of instances instead of direct benefits, becomes a solemn duty of the Government; and that it will occasion a heavy draft upon the public treasury and upon the tax-payers of the land ought not to be considered for a single moment. The questions immediately presented are these: Is the proposed remedy an act of justice? Is it the right of the ex-slaves that they have compensation for wrongs endured? Can a great

and beneficent government deliberately sanction a cruelty and a wrong without making reasonable indemnity for the wrong afflicted?

If these questions may be affirmatively answered—and reason and justice alike dictate that they shall be—then it becomes apparent to every candid man that the question of expense must not be permitted to enter into a discussion of the duty which the Government owes to its emancipated millions of former slaves. They were held as slaves pursuant to the will of the Government lawfully expressed. At the Governmental will the shackles of slavery were removed. Now let the Government do right by the subjects of its monstrous error, regardless of the question of expense or of the taxes that must be entailed upon the people.

In all the discussion through the columns of the daily press and in the pages of magazine literature respecting the settlement of the negro problem, there appears to have been a studious effort by writers to thrust aside the matter of making reparation to the negroes themselves for the injustice they have suffered during their years of unrequited servitude. Senators and Representatives of Congress, clergymen from the pulpit and scholars from college halls have rushed into print to solve the negro problem; and after all the learned essays they have written and the sapient methods they have devised for the elucidation of a question of vast magnitude, the problem appears to lack solution in the same degree that the first learned writer found it unsolved when he undertook the task of solving it.

Nearly all the negro problem discussionists have held forth the idea that the want of the old slaves is the establishment of schools, colleges, churches and the like for the education of the young generation of negroes and for the moral culture of the black people, young and old alike. The physical comfort and temporal welfare of the negro race does not appear to have engaged the attention of a single one of the many distinguished statesmen, philosophers and scholars who have undertaken the solution of the negro problem, concerning which they have been so terribly exorcised.

Writing from the House of Representatives at Washington, under date of January 31, 1891, concerning Vaughan's Freedmen's Pension Bill, the Hon. W. J. Connell, representative from the first Nebraska district, who introduced that measure at the earnest request of its author, has this to say:

HON. W. R. VAUGHAN: *Dear Sir*—The package of your "Plea for American Freedmen" was duly received and distributed as you directed. In addition to furnishing the Committee on Pensions with the desired number of copies, I also gave a copy to each of the three colored representatives now in the House. I have since had some talk with one or two of them regarding your bill. It seems to be their opinion that some different measure for the benefit of ex-slaves could be passed, which would be more acceptable to them and the colored race. As Mr. Langston put it: "What we want is the means of obtaining knowledge and useful information which will fit the rising generation for honor-

able and useful employment." I doubt if there will be any definite action on the bill at this session of Congress. From what I can learn the committee is not inclined to make a favorable report. I suppose this was somewhat anticipated.

Very truly yours,

W. J. CONNELL.

So, according to the foregoing letter, even so eminent a colored statesman as the Hon. John M. Langston, to whom a small part of this little volume has been devoted, appears to fall into the groove of thinking that the negroes who suffered the martyrdom of slavery, and the pangs of hunger and nakedness consequent upon sudden and unexpected emancipation, may be compensated for the woes of generations of serfdom by making provision for "knowledge and useful information" to be imparted to the "rising generation!" In the name of all that is holy it may be asked whether the "rising generation" has not been suitably provided for, at least until such time as the hoary-headed men and women who endured the heat and burden of lifetimes of abject toil have been in some measure compensated for the sweat and suffering they endured before the chains of slavery slipped from their limbs under the booming of artillery, the tramp of cavalry, the rattle of the arms of infantry and all the bitter circumstances of four years of blood-red war?

It can not be certainly claimed that there has been any lack of effort, either North or South, since the close of the rebellion and the era of reconstruction to provide full means of general "knowledge and useful information" for the "rising generation" which has been begotten of ex-slave parentage. Even so able a writer in the interest of the negro as George W. Cable, who seems to have imbibed the Langstonian idea in a measure, that "knowledge and useful information" is a suitable panacea for all the ills of which the black race can complain, has admitted in his treatise published in the *Forum* of August, 1888, that ample educational provision has been made for the colored people since they have been set free from chattel servitude. In his able pen production Mr. Cable has this to say:

"The freedom of the negro was bought at a higher price, in white men's blood and treasure, than any people ever paid, of their own blood and treasure, for their own liberty. Since the close of the war many millions of dollars have been spent by private benevolence in the North to qualify the Southern negro, morally and intellectually, for his new freedom, and the outlay continues still undiminished. No equal number of people elsewhere on earth receives so great an amount of missionary educational aid. In the South itself a great change has taken—is taking—place in popular sentiment concerning certain aspects of the negro's case. In 1885-86 over 58 per cent. of the colored school population in seven great Southern States was enrolled in State public schools, in recognition of the necessity and advantage of the negro's elevation."

The census reports of 1890 show that the statement of Mr. Cable is borne out and even exceeded by facts, not only in seven

States but in every State of the South where slavery existed before the war.

An exhaustive examination of the sentiments of nearly all educational writers who have interested themselves in the matter of negro schools and colleges for the use and benefit of freedmen, has led to the conclusion that an opinion generally prevails among educators to the effect that complete justice has been done to the ex-slave in such lines, and that the good work will continue in coming years. It can not be, then, truly claimed, as Congressman Langston has put it, that the acquirement of "knowledge and useful information" on the part of the ex-slaves has been neglected by the States or by the people. Neither has his religious training been neglected. Churches have grown on nearly every hill-side and in the green valleys of the South, where the black children of old slave fathers and mothers go side by side with their gray-haired parents to hear the gospel expounded at the regular call of the Sabbath bell. Education and religion have been held out to the freedmen with a lavish hand.

But men can not feed upon husks. If, as the Scriptures teach, "man can not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God," so may it also be said that the "word" would constitute miserably poor aid and comfort in case the bread should be wholly withdrawn. While education and religion are sent broadcast over the South for the benefit of the "rising generation," there are the old and poor who delved from early morn till dewy eve in the days of their young manhood and womanhood, and who now stand up for justice and say to the law-givers, "Compensate us for the ills we endured in the days when our sweat and toil went to make up the fatness of the master's table! The Government compelled our labor. Now, you have acknowledged its injustice, pay us at least a stipend of that which we earned for others!"

In the two decades which have elapsed since the author of this volume first contemplated an appeal to the people for a national recognition of the just claims of ex-slaves to financial indemnity because of past wrongs suffered, and in the eight years which have passed into history since the initiative of the work was undertaken there has been found no intelligent citizen who has undertaken to combat the propriety of extending to the negro race the most liberal aid for the advancement of intellectual and educational progress among their people. But outside of promoting schools and colleges, and the erection of churches wherever there appeared to be a neighborhood demand for the preaching of the gospel, public interest appears to have measurably ceased except in political lines.

The politician is always an active factor in securing votes for his party, and hence the negro has not been neglected in the extent or earnestness of the advice that has been given him respecting the time and manner of enjoying the liberty of the ballot. Great concern is manifested at election periods as to where he shall vote, how he shall vote, and that he shall be sure to vote. Generally the anxiety touching these points has much less to do with the weal

that is to attach directly to the negro, in consequence of benefits that may inure to him because of the success of one political party or the defeat of another, than it has for the particular candidate for office, or the political party in whose interest the officious partisan is engaged in expending his laborious efforts. Still it is the right and indeed the duty of all citizens to vote, regardless of color, and to vote intelligently. On this subject right thinking men of all creeds and kinds are agreed; and there is, perhaps, less of an inclination to debar the negro from the enjoyment of the elective franchise than has been frequently represented upon the rostrum and through the press. It is probable that in times of excitement in certain localities obstacles have been thrown in the way of a free ballot, and thereby some voters of color have been prevented from exercising an inestimable right. Occasionally white men have suffered a similar wrong. But in the main elections have been free and open, and persons lawfully entitled to vote have been permitted to exercise their rights without fear or favor. Those who have failed to exercise the elector's privilege have done so, in most instances, through their own inaction and negligence. On this subject, Mr. George W. Cable, a friend of the negro, in his fine magazine article already referred to, has given some most excellent advice, and an excerpt therefrom will not be out of place. Mr. Cable says:

“Vote! Cast your vote though taxed for it. Cast your vote though defrauded of it, as many a white man is to-day. Cast your vote though you die for it. Let no man cry, ‘Liberty or blood;’ leave that for socialists and Parisian mobs; but when liberty means duty, and death means one’s own extinction, then the cry of ‘liberty or death’ is a holy cry, and the man who will not make it his own, even in freedom, is not free. Seek not to buy liberty with the blood neither of friends nor of enemies; it is only men’s own blood at last that counts in the purchase of liberty. Whatever may have been the true philosophy for more ferocious times, this is the true philosophy for ours. Cast your votes, then, even though many of you die for it. Some of you have died, but in comparison how few; three hundred thousand white men poured out their blood to keep you bound, other three hundred thousand died to set you free, and still the measure of American freedom is not yours. A fiftieth as much of your own blood shed in the inoffensive activities of public duty will buy it. Keep your vote alive; better nine free men than ten half free. In most of the Southern States the negro vote has been diminishing steadily for years, to the profound satisfaction of those white men whose suicidal policy is to keep you in alienism. In the name of the dead, black or white, of the living, and of your children yet unborn, not of one party or another, but an American freemen, vote! For in this free land the people who do not vote do not get and do not deserve their rights.”

The importance of the ballot is not overestimated by Mr. Cable, and the fire that exudes from his electric pen ought to blaze in every freeman’s heart—especially in the heart of every negro freeman who realizes his natural rights and who would have them granted, not as a boon but as a measure of justice. The ballot alone

does not satisfy the debt which the country owes to the ex-slave, but it will be a potent means of securing the rights so long and unjustly deferred if used in a safe, a prudent and a worthy manner. Neither will the voter be called upon to wade through streams of blood or to lay down his life as a sacrifice in order to secure the ends of justice as the tenor of the foregoing extract might imply. Indeed, the men of the South, who once held the negroes in subjection as their personal estate, are nearly unanimous in their approval of the right of suffrage on the part of their former slaves, and the right carries with it the duty to exercise that right. At least such is the sentiment of the educated men of the South, and these constitute there, as everywhere, the ruling class. General Wade Hampton, while holding up to view the sad consequences of negro supremacy in South Carolina during the reconstruction period and making an able argument against a policy that would reproduce such an inexcusable blunder, takes occasion in the columns of the *Forum* (see June number 1888) to defend the right of the negro to the ballot when qualified to exercise it, and to proclaim himself an early champion of such suffrage, having officially advocated the same when serving as governor of the State. Upon this subject General Hampton wrote:

"I am making no argument against their right to vote (right of the negroes), for in 1867, before Congress had taken any action looking to this result, I maintained that this privilege should be extended to them under educational qualifications. I recognized then that in a republic such as ours no citizen ought to be excluded from any of the rights of citizenship because of his color or of any other arbitrary distinction. I therefore advocated, in a public address, that the State which then, under the constitution, had absolute power to fix the qualification of voters should give the elective franchise to the negroes, protecting itself by imposing an educational qualification."

It would naturally appear from this voluntary declaration of General Hampton, who has just retired from the United States Senate after twelve years of service in behalf of his State, that there can be no well-defined reason for fearing that the suffrage of negro citizens is likely to be curtailed in South Carolina; and if not in that State, it is exceedingly improbable that such an attempt will be made anywhere else within the territory commonly known as "the South." Under the circumstances, the advice given by Mr. Cable to the negro citizens of the whole country should be made specially applicable to the Southern portion. Let them vote. But in the name of humanity it may be well inquired, "What will they vote for?" If merely to give somebody an office, the franchise will certainly not be made of especial benefit to those subjects of an ancient barbarism who remain with us for a time, but who are passing away very rapidly, year after year; and in the course of another generation there will scarcely be a single one of the old slaves left to tell the tale of involuntary servitude in a land which dates its historic story from the discoveries of Columbus, its freedom from the heroic struggle of Washington and the

emancipation of barbaric relics from the martyrdom of Abraham Lincoln!

What shall the old slaves vote for? Shall it be that something may be done for the extension of "knowledge and useful information" to a "rising generation," which already consumes 58 per cent. of the school tax levy of a populous part of the South, and which has an equal advantage in every dollar of school taxes that are collected in every State, from Maine to California and from the new State of Washington to the peninsula of Florida? Why, there are colleges builded by voluntary contributions of money, given in hope and with many a heartfelt prayer for success, which are dotting the plains and the hill-sides of every State once in rebellion against the Federal Government. In the city of Nashville there are three colored universities engaged in imparting "knowledge and useful information" to the "rising generation" of the once enslaved South. For the current year there are 475 students catalogued in all the departments of the Fisk University; in the Central Tennessee College there are 541 students, and in the Roger Williams College 192 students. Other parts of the South are singularly fortunate in the number of their colleges, seminaries and high schools devoted to the especial work of imparting "knowledge and useful information" to the "rising generation" which has come into existence from the sacred family relations of fathers and mothers who toiled in slavish drudgery upon Southern fields prior to the work of war and emancipation.

It can scarcely be said, then, that the compensation due from the Government to ex-slaves, in mitigation of great wrongs endured in slavish days, can be justly set aside for the behoof of "a rising generation," already fairly well provided for in the specific lines which ex-Congressman Langston has laid out as the way wherein justice and reparation may be established with a view to curing the wounds of body and mind which old-time slaves have been made to suffer.

No, no. Do not let the blessings which coming generations may possibly reap from benevolence and benefices now bestowed by Government or State aid, or given in kindly gratuity from private purses, close our eyes or dull our ears to the existing demand for material and speedy aid due, and owing to the gray-haired veterans of the rice, the cotton, the corn and sugar fields of the old-time South. These old men and women suffered the evils of slavery. They toiled without recompense or reward. They furnished the material prosperity of States, and their toil made their masters wealthy, and their mistresses ladies. They did it willingly because it was lawful that it should be done. They spent their best days to make fabulous wealth for State and Nation. In an hour when no man knew what was coming, they were made at once freemen—AND PAUPERS! The Government did it. The Government sent them adrift from their places in life, and made a national hardship to be a bitter, withering, private hardship upon them and their helpless children, without a particle of provision to save them from starvation and desolation. In their general interest Government aid is now invoked. In their personal interest

the sufferers are invoked to aid themselves by their industry and their votes, in advancing their own cause. Let them stand together for themselves. Let them vote unitedly for men who will help them as the cry for help is raised. Thanks to the people of the North and the South, who have made these old slaves to be citizens and voters, to the end that they may use the ballot in the day of their appeal for justice to secure the establishment of that justice as well by their own acts as through the acts of their fellow-men.

But, aside from voting in their own interest, it is the solemn duty of freedmen to take such measures for the advancement of their claims upon the Government which set them free as to make their appeal united and compact. In voting for candidates for office, as before declared, there should be unity of effort only to the extent that their own friends and advocates are chosen for place, so that the places may be used to advance a noble cause. Friends of the cause at heart, of every political organization, ought to command the approbation and support of freedmen. But for the purpose of arriving at a just conclusion as to the men who may be depended upon to do the right thing at the right time, there ought to be the very closest organization of freedmen, and of their adherents, especially of men of color, in every community where an association of determined men, united in thought and feeling, can be harmoniously combined for necessary work in unison.

Associations of negroes and their friends ought to be formed in every town and county in the United States, or in every community where such formations may be found practicable, and the central idea and thought of the various clubs should be the advancement of the claim of freedmen for government pension. The formation of a cordon of Freedmen's Pension clubs throughout the land would bring together a political strength and power that would be irresistible because of its ability to sway party organizations and to bring victory or defeat to friends or enemies as the exponents of political creeds might declare themselves in speech or letter when appealing for popular suffrage. In short, the plain duty of freedmen is not to become indissolubly united in favor of or in opposition to tariff laws or revenue laws of any special school of thought in those lines, or upon general politics, but they should stand together for the advancement of their own rights.

Referring once more to the able arguments which Mr. George W. Cable, in his magazine discussions, has advanced in the interest of the negro race, while seeking to make a solution of the great negro problem, it may not be amiss to reproduce his opinions upon the topic of negro club formation and the propriety of such organizations being made to spread over the States of the Union, wherever there may be communities having a percentage of colored citizens suitable for the maintenance of such societies. Listen to the advice of a friend. Mr. Cable, in his contribution to the August number of the *Forum*, 1888, very truly and tersely says:

"From the earliest days of his emancipation the negro has shown a zest and gift for organization, and to-day his private, pub-

lic and secret societies, which cost him money to maintain, have thousands of members. Yet only here and there among them is there a club or league for the advocacy and promotion of his civil rights. There is probably no other great national question so nearly destitute of a championship of an active national organization, with officers, treasury and legal counsel. The causes of this are plain enough. As long as it was the supreme political issue it was left, after our American fashion, entirely to the heated treatment of the daily press, the stump, and the national and State legislatures. From them a large part of the question passed into a long period of suspense in the supreme court. Only the matter of casting and counting votes kept, and keeps, the attention of parties, and this with a constant loss of power, showing that partisan treatment is no longer the questions only or chief need."

The sentiments of the foregoing extract are to be commended, for the especial reason that they point out to the negro a fact which he must sooner or later learn, and in the long run may learn to his sorrow—that "only the matter of casting and counting votes now keeps the attention of political parties" turned to his condition. Professional politicians care only for the negro on account of his vote, and when that has been secured they care nothing in the wide world for the man who casts the vote. He may starve and die for all that the political demagogue may know or care. His personal comfort, the well-being of his family, the success of the individual in daily toil or commercial pursuits, in no wise concerns the sleek-fed politician who has been foisted into office through the medium of the ballots of colored citizens.

Hence the importance of the negroes using their talent and penchant for organization in a way to advance their personal claims upon the Government, and for the furtherance of their just demand for indemnity for ages of wrong imposed by law under the strong arm of constitutional authority. The talent of organization is a happy and a safe means of securing results that will fill the purse and make the aged veteran of the plantation an independent sovereign in his old and declining days. But the chief end of such organization must be directed to the immediate concerns of the masses of mankind released from slavery rather than to the securing of technical civil rights, which will invariably follow success in life. Put money in your purses and respectability will ensue just as certainly as that water escaping from a gathered reservoir will run down hill, pursuant to the established laws of gravitation. Let associations be formed as Mr. Cable advises; and when formed, let the first thought of those organizations be the requiting of the debt which the Government justly owes to its former bondmen. When that debt has been requited, there will be very little occasion for a new demand in favor of civil rights on the part of colored citizens, for the reason that their status in life will be so well established that his rights will be everywhere respected in the same degree that citizens of the Caucasian race have honorable and just recognition in society co-extensive with their just claims and personal merits.

In the formation of clubs for the advancement of the best ends of the colored race, which organizations Mr. Cable would probably

prefer to be known as Civil Rights Societies, but for which the title of Freedmen's Pension Clubs would be in better taste and more fitting for the ends to be established through the bringing of men together in organized bodies, it must not be forgotten that an outlay of present means will become absolutely necessary. The pro rata of expense will be trivial, as it applies to each individual, but it will be sufficient in the aggregate to accomplish the end in view, and, like bread cast upon the water, it will return after many days. Indeed, the good seed so planted will spring up and bring forth fruit that may be styled, in Scriptural language, thirty, sixty and a hundred-fold. The harvest will be plentiful, and the crop of exceeding richness. Then organize. Do so at once, in order that the effort may be joint and united, calculated to secure immediate action and ready relief. Here, again, it may be in place to quote from the timely and candid advice of Mr. Cable. He speaks with truth and power in these words:

"And you must spend your own money. No full use of the liberties you now have can be made without co-operation, however loose that co-operation may have to be; and no co-operation can be very wide, active or effective without the use of money. This tax can not be laid anywhere upon a few purses. Falling upon many, it will rest too lightly to be counted a burden. White men may and should help to bear it; but, if so, then all the more the negro must spend his own money. Half the amount now idled away on comparatively useless societies and secret orders will work wonders."

Perhaps the point in view would be more sharply defined and better understood in case it should be said that the "comparatively useless societies and secret orders" now in existence, but performing or accomplishing no very desirable work, may be made useful agencies in their associated existence, by imposing upon them the grand labor of working harmoniously together for the passage of Vaughan's Freedmen's Pension bill and for making the plea in behalf of freedmen so potent and unmistakable, that the Congress of the United States will not dare to longer delay the work of justice which the condition of the ex-slaves of the republic to-day demands at its hands.

Perhaps it may be asked by what power of reasoning can it be said that the voice of the negro race of our land may be made effectual for the passage of the Vaughan bill, even in case the entire colored population of the United States should stand together? The answer is easy and, when the facts are understood, ought to be convincing. The negroes of the United States amount to about twelve per cent. of the total population. Such an aggregation of people, when united in any just demand, can not fail to command attention. The appeal of such a number of people in behalf of justice and the right will be certain to carry conviction. The census statistics of the year just passed, collated by the Federal Government, show that the numbers of the colored population have not been overstated. The best informed men of the land recognized, prior to census reports being made public, that the negro was an important factor in our body politic. Senator John T.

Morgan, in discussing the question, "Shall Negro Majorities Rule?" through the columns of the *Forum*, in February, 1889, was moved to say:

"We have not accomplished any good to either race by conferring upon 1,500,000 negroes the privilege of voting. Its effect is to neutralize the same number of white votes that would otherwise be cast with reference to the general welfare and prosperity of the country."

The spirit of Senator Morgan's dictum appears to be predicated upon the fact, which possibly does not admit of question, that nearly the unanimous negro vote, immediately following the enfranchisement of the race, was cast in opposition to the general will and wish of the white people who had held those negroes in servitude in the time of slave days. It is needless to discuss the reasons which made such a vote possible. The suddenness of suffrage extension to the negroes, coupled with the fact that the white population was largely disfranchised as a penalty for participation in favor of the rebellion, had a tendency to lead the newly made freedmen into hostile relations with their former owners and masters when they became nearly sole possessors of the political field. In this relation of hostility the negroes were greatly encouraged by designing men from the North, who took advantage of the unnatural situation for the advancement of their own political and money-grabbing schemes. But those days have gone by, and will never return. It now remains for the white men of the South, who have been restored to their normal condition as citizens and property owners, and who constitute the large preponderance of the Southern voting strength, to aid and encourage the enactment of Vaughan's Freedmen's Pension bill as the most certain means for the restoration of peace and good-will between the white and black citizenship of the former slave States. Such a condition of amity will go further and do more towards the elucidation of the extensively discussed negro problem than all the essays and speeches which scholars and statesmen may be able to contribute to that end.

With a hope of securing full and complete justice to the ex-slave for the wrongs of government which he has been made to suffer, it will be important for harmony of action to exist between all his friends and advocates of the Caucasian race. In order that such harmonious sentiment may prevail, the discussion of methods designed to benefit the negro must be lifted above the plane of party politics. If partisan prejudice can be submerged the day of a great boom will very speedily dawn upon the men and women who endured the dark night of slavish oppression, and who yet remain amongst us as the representatives of that extinct species of barbarism once existing in our fair land. The pension now proposed to be extended to the ex-slaves is not a payment in complete recompense for the ages of serfdom which the negroes have been made to endure, but it will be accepted as an indemnity whereby a great nation makes acknowledgment of its past error, just as the blood of the Saviour shed upon the cross is recognized as an indemnification for the sins of mankind. Among Christian nations

a money indemnity for errors of one government committed against another is the accepted mode of rendering satisfaction. So has it often been made the correct method of indemnifying wrongs done by a government to its own subjects. Let the negro be no exception to other sufferers who have endured national wrongs. Recognizing the fact that many writers who sincerely desire to see the negro problem solved in a way to be just and equitable towards both the Caucasian and Ethiopian races, but whose apparent methods have tended to complicate the question, the author of this work felt obliged to combat the views of the Rev. A. D. Mayo as they were promulgated in the pages of the *Forum*, in the November number 1890 of that excellent magazine. Accordingly the writer published a communication in the *Chicago Herald*, May 1, 1891, the object of which was to call public attention to the fact that money was the sole agency whereby the Government could clear its skirts from the stain of human slavery which existed during three-quarters of a century of our constitutional existence as a people. At the same time it was designed to strip the question at issue of every possible shade of partisan bias. This feature of the problem in hand may be concluded for the purpose of this book by reproducing the communication addressed to the *Herald* which appeared under the caption of "Money is the Agency," and reads as follows:

In the November number of the *Forum* there appeared a thoughtful and scholarly article entitled "The Progress of the Negro," from the facile pen and analytical brain of Rev. Amory D. Mayo, the manifest object of which was to strip the negro problem of many of the difficulties which surround it, and to make its final elucidation not only satisfactory to all sections of the American republic, but beneficial alike to the white and black races. A careful perusal of the argument presented by the learned gentleman will afford satisfactory evidence of deep study and research on the part of a philosophical thinker. But it will also bear evidence to the minds of persons who have studied the negro problem in other schools than that in which the graphic writer has been educated that there are important points which he has failed to consider altogether, while upon some of the features which he has discussed his conclusions have been partially clouded through a manifest political bias. While Mr. Mayo has carefully refrained from indulgence in anything akin to absolute partisanship, there is a latent vein of subtlety pervading his discourse which obtrudes itself with sufficient distinctness to indicate a prejudice when he discusses the relations of the ex-slaves of the South to the local governments of those States wherein they were formerly held in bondage. Perhaps nowhere does this feeling become so marked as in the asseveration that "there is no 'solid South' outside of the Southern democratic party." It must be apparent to every candid thinker that the political organization which controls the local State governments of all that section of the American union generally comprehended in the expression of "the South," and has done so with scarcely a break for two decades, comes very near to making its dictum in political affairs an expres-

sion of the people in such a marked degree that it is fair to say that the vote of the party may be accepted as the voice of the people. If this conclusion can be accepted as true, it is difficult to conceive how the weal of the negroes of the South, in educational or civic matters, can be promoted except through such measures as the dominant party may encourage or assent to. The assumption that conditions in certain States point to a new political domination is not borne out by recent experience.

ALL DEPENDS ON THE DOMINANT PARTY.

With the light of more than twenty years as a guide, running down from reconstruction days to the very latest expression of political sentiment through the States of the South, it naturally appears that the future behoof of the Southern negro rests very largely in the recognition of the fact that he must be treated solely in his capacity as a citizen, without respect to such political alliances as he may see fit to maintain. Questions of taxation, of education, of the acquirement of property, and nearly all the immediate concerns of life, will necessarily be settled by the dominant party in State affairs, and hence it is of the highest importance to the negro to place no unnatural obstacles in the way of that generous and just treatment to which he may be rightfully entitled as a citizen. It is conceded that the States of the South have made generous educational provision for the colored people, especially those States which are progressing most rapidly in population and wealth. It is fair to presume that the good work in this direction will be continued and amplified.

With respect to the religious and moral training of the Southern negroes, and the higher education of those of the race who may be able to command facilities for learning beyond the ordinary provision which States commonly provide for the sons and daughters of the rising generation, there can be no special reason assigned for a variance of treatment from the accustomed action of philanthropic people in regard to the culture of young men and women of white parentage. Academies, seminaries, colleges and churches of all kinds may be provided in the usual way, and ought to be. This is a work which has commanded the best consideration of good men in every civilized land. A splendid beginning has been made for the higher culture of negro youth in nearly every part of the South, and to-day many thousands of the offspring of ex-slaves are enjoying the advantages of classical instruction. The number of these favored children of negro families is likely to keep pace with the college-bred young men and women of white parentage in proportion to the relative numerical strength between the two races. There is no fear that religious instruction will be neglected on the part of any of the churches which have succeeded in building up and maintaining a fair following in the various communities of the South.

NEGRO LOVE FOR THE SOUTH.

With Mr. Mayo the writer will heartily join in the opinion expressed that the negroes, as a class, will not join in any wild and

fanciful hegira which impracticable people may organize, having in view "the exportation of the negro population or for its dissemination at home." The negro has his local ties and home affections that bind him to the place of his abode and the kindred he loves, just as ardently as other mortals are similarly attached. Now and then individuals, and even families, may emigrate to new States and habitations for the betterment of their circumstances, but such movements are of common occurrence with men and families of the white race. In this respect the negro is a personage of like feelings and impulses with other men. But the fact remains true, in the face of such voluntary changes of residence, that the average negro of the South "is a Southern American man by instinct, temperament and training." He is attached to the climate, to the modes of toil, to the system of industry that prevails, and nowhere he might go would he understand so thoroughly how to plant, how to harvest or how to secure the best returns for the expenditure of his manual labor. He has no wish to leave the scenes of his youth and his manhood, and if a condition of peril or of force should oblige him to seek a new home among strangers he would consider it a hardship almost too great to be borne. This devoted attachment of the negro to home scenes and environments is more noticeable among the classes who have resided in the extreme South than of the residents within the border States. Larger numbers have removed from Missouri, Kentucky, the Virginias and Maryland since the conclusion of the great rebellion than have gone out from the Gulf States in pursuit of new places of abode. If any argument can be deduced from these facts it is to the effect that the extreme southern clime is better suited to the physical comfort of the African race than the more rigorous and changeable seasons prevailing along the border line. In the home the negro has enjoyed and yet cherishes with warm attachment he is entitled to that contentment which is a feature of his race and the requisite protection to make him an independent citizen and respected member of society.

QUERIES FOR THE FAIR-MINDED.

As it is admitted, even by the carping and critical, that the negro of the South, and especially of the extreme South, is devoted to the local and domestic ties which have environed him since his freedom from servile bondage was proclaimed; that the States of the South have made provision for the education of the younger generation; that the laws providing for schools and for practical instruction in requisite elementary branches are continually being amended, so that their application may be made more feasible and serviceable; that the fullest religious and civil freedom is accorded to the negro of the South equally with the white resident of that section, and that commendable progress has been made by Church and State during the last quarter of a century in bringing citizens of the black race up to a condition worthy of their advanced condition in life, since the event of their emancipation, three questions naturally present themselves for the consideration of the fair, the

just and the candid-minded of all classes and conditions of society, viz.:

1. Is there anything remaining to be done by the States or the nation necessary to place the negro in the full enjoyment of his citizenship and to make him a useful addition to the governing class of our population?
2. Is there an honorable obligation due from the States or the nation to the negroes, so long held in bondage, that has not been discharged, or sought to be discharged, by the agencies immediately responsible for negro emancipation?
3. Has the emancipation from slavery, however just and righteous, been an unmixed blessing to the ex-slaves, and, if not, what remedial measure is awaiting performance in order that perfect justice and satisfaction may be rendered?

NOT A BOON, BUT A NECESSITY.

In attempting to answer these queries, which are so intimately blended together, each one, in fact, constituting a part of the other two, it will be found more satisfactory and complete to proceed with the discussion in a general line rather than to attempt separate answers. The writer can not agree with the proposition that at any time "the freedman was invited to a feast so rare, rich and abounding that it is not strange if the majority of the eight millions have not yet learned how to behave at the great national table and how to satisfy themselves with the common diet of American civilization." No such generous feast has been provided. The reference of the learned gentleman from whom quotation has been made, unquestionably had direct reference to the edict of emancipation, and the transition from slavery to freedom is the allegorical feast which the former subjects of the era of slavery have not enjoyed with that perfect decorum which is the natural attendant of perfect politeness. Emancipation came to the negro not as a boon, but as a necessary contingent of a mighty war. It was not the two proclamations of Abraham Lincoln that set the old slaves free. Neither was it the amendment to the Federal constitution which prohibited slavery within the nation, nor yet the amendments to the organic laws of the several Southern States that gave to the bondmen the precious boon of freedom. It was the solid tramp of the boys in blue and the dreadful circumstances of war that struck the shackles of servitude from the limbs of nearly six millions of human beings. When the smoke of battle had rolled away the men and women of the days of slavery and the dependent little ones born of slave parentage found themselves without masters, without homes, without means of subsistence, and surrounded by all the horrors of coming starvation, unless their brawney arms and dusky frames were put to the severest toil for the purpose of procuring immediate relief. This was the enticing feast to which the old slaves were invited to sit down, and this was the lavish feast of husks upon which the hunger of the emancipated millions was to be satisfied.

HOW TO SOLVE THE GREAT PROBLEM.

For three-quarters of a century following the formation of our

federal system of government, the institution of human slavery was upheld and supported under the authority of the constitution of the United States. The men and women of slave days were not human beings in the eyes of the law. They were chattels, subject to commercial exchange the same as any other commodity. They were subject to the same laws as the cotton they picked or the corn they raised. They were subjects for the market and for taxation, just as any other marketable product was taxable for the purpose of providing a public revenue. The four dreadful years spanning the time from the assault upon Fort Sumpter to the surrender of Appomattox changed the condition of the once slave, and he came forth free, without a home or a place to lay his head. A measure of justice on the part of a great government demands that the old slaves be no longer denied their natural right of recompense for all the years of toil when the strong arm of the Government held them in bondage without their consent and without the commission of a crime as a lawful excuse for their restraint from liberty. Let the Government be just to the former subjects of slavery, even at this late day, and then it will be found that the negro problem will have solved itself. Then it will not be necessary for statesmen, savants, ministers of the gospel, friends of humanity and lovers of justice to meet in conventions or religious bodies to seek out a way to place the subjects of a great wrong upon a plane where they can work out their temporal as well as their eternal salvation. As before declared, the troublesome problems resulting from slave days will have been solved so readily and so clearly that all will wonder that it ever should have required solution from a great, a generous and a noble people.

PENSIONS FOR THE FREEDMEN.

For the purpose of giving ample relief to the ex-slaves of the South the writer, after years of thought and an extensive correspondence with public men of the country, prepared a bill to be presented in Congress "to provide pensions for freedmen released from involuntary servitude," which was introduced in the House of Representatives on June 24, 1890, by William J. Connell, congressman from the First District of Nebraska. The bill graduates the pensions according to the age of the pensioner, and intrusts to the Secretary of the Interior the preparation of all needful rules and regulations for carrying the act into full force and effect. The bill was read twice, referred to the Pensions Committee and ordered to be printed. It so stands to-day upon the unfinished business of Congress. The second section of the proposed act reads as follows:

SEC. 2. Any person who may have been held as a slave or involuntary servant, under and by reason of any law of the United States, or in consequence of any device or custom prevailing within such State or the United States, except for the commission of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and who shall have been released from such servitude in manner before stated, and who shall at the date of the passage of this act have reached the age of seventy years, shall be entitled to and receive the sum of \$500 from the Treasury of the United States, hereby authorized to be paid out of any moneys not otherwise appropriated, and the sum of \$15 per

month during the residue of their natural lives. This provision shall apply to male and female alike. And all persons so released from servitude who shall be less than seventy years of age and of the age of sixty years or over shall be entitled to receive the sum of \$300, and \$12 per month until they shall reach the age of seventy years, when they shall be entitled to and receive the greater sum of \$15 hereinbefore stated as a monthly payment. And all persons released from servitude as before stated who shall be less than sixty years old, and of the age of fifty years or over, shall be entitled to receive the sum of \$100 and also \$8 per month until sixty years old, when they shall receive \$12. And all persons released from servitude as before stated who shall be less than fifty years of age shall be entitled to receive \$4 until fifty years old, when they shall receive \$8. All moneys herein authorized to be paid shall be dispensed from the general funds of the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

MONEY IS THE PROPER AGENCY.

In the crude bill from which the foregoing section has been quoted will be found the means of elucidating the negro problem, which will outweigh in its practical effect all the special pleas that may be put up in favor of methods to benefit the ex-slaves by conventions of the people, either civil or religious. The negroes were once slaves, made so by authority of the federal constitution. They have been emancipated, but no provision has been made for the support of the old and poor, who have endured the heat and burden of the slavish task. Schools and colleges have been prepared for the education of the young, but reasonable financial relief will lift those who have toiled all their better days out of misery and dependency in their declining years. The Government can afford to exercise this act of justice and mercy as a satisfaction for the wrong it formerly permitted and encouraged. Place the old slaves in a position of financial independence, and the gordian knot which wise men have been vainly trying to untie will be at once cut in twain. Money is the agency that will solve the negro problem. Enable the old slaves to acquire homes, to live in comfort, and they will at once acquire a respectability they have not hitherto attained. Wealth, and even a competency, always carries with it the highest respect. Competency, and not poverty, will solve the troublesome problem.

On one occasion a poor man approached a ferry on a broad river, just as the ferry boat was about to cross over. He begged to be taken across, but had no money. "The fare is only five cents," said the ferryman. The poor man replied, "I have not the five cents." After pondering a few seconds the ferryman remarked: "Well, I guess you had better remain where you are. If you are not possessed of a single 5-cent piece, it can't make any difference which side of the river you're on." This little story amply illustrates the condition of the freedmen consequent upon their emancipation from slavery.

WALTER RALEIGH VAUGHAN.

Passing from a discussion of the right of American freedmen to compensation, it would be natural to inquire wherein savage governments, or half civilized, have had to pay tribute for impressing Americans into servitude; but statistics on such points have been covered in a way to prevent scrutiny, or the departmental officers at Washington have been reluctant to tell what they know in a way

that may be to the interest of the negro. At least the officials of state have been reluctant to give facts which might be made available for the behoof of old slaves. A letter was addressed to Secretary Blaine from the office of the *Omaha Daily Democrat*, under date of August 18, 1890, in which the following request was made:

"It is the wish of this paper to learn officially the measure and detail of damages which may have been paid, in any manner, to American citizens or seamen in consequence of seizure and imprisonment by foreign governments, or their subjection to servitude by such governments, under any pretense whatever. The case of Americans held in Tripoli, for whose release the expedition under Stephen Decatur was fitted out, is perhaps the most noteworthy and important. What indemnity was paid, how distributed, and to whom? Any other instances of seizure of Americans, for what cause, how long held, and the circumstances of indemnity, will be gladly received, to be used for public purposes."

Imagine the surprise experienced to receive such an answer as the following, which is inserted in full:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER, 9, 1890. }

W. R. Vaughan, Esquire, Editor of the Omaha Democrat, Omaha, Neb.

SIR: Adverting to so much of your letter of the 18th ultimo as has reference to the sums paid by the United States in certain cases, I have now to inform you that you will doubtless find the desired information in senate executive document No. 38, XLIVth congress, second session, being a "statement of appropriations and expenditures, civil and miscellaneous, of the Department of State from March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1876" I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,
Acting Secretary.

Imagine the disgust of the author hereof to find that the volume referred to contained no reference to the Decatur expedition whatever. Perhaps the expenditure was neither "civil" nor "miscellaneous." But there was an indemnity paid, and the amount was by no means trivial. A nation that asks indemnity should pay indemnity where due. It is due to the old slaves of the South.

About the close of the eighteenth century American merchant vessels plying the waters of the Mediterranean were annoyed by the incursions of Moorish pirates and predatory crews who robbed cargoes, burned trading ships and carried American seamen into captivity where they were sold as slaves. Commodore Stephen Decatur, with a fleet of vessels, was dispatched to the Barbary States to release the enslaved seamen and demand indemnity. The flagship of the squadron, the *Philadelphia*, grounded in the harbor of Tripoli and to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy she was burned by her escaping crew. Decatur's forces began a bombardment which terminated by the authorities of Tripoli making terms. They surrendered all captives in their possession and paid an indemnity to the men who had been enslaved, to the merchants whose property had been destroyed and to the Government for the sacrifice of a valuable war steamer. Diligent inquiry at Washington has not been successful in learning the amount of

the indemnity paid by Tripoli or the names of the recipients of the bounty.

For the purpose of showing a want of feeling on the part of many persons at the South toward old slaves, though the number is only a small minority of the entire population, a single instance may be produced in this connection. The author sent postal cards to the mayors and postmasters of several hundreds of Southern cities and towns, making inquiry as to the "most reliable and intelligent negroes" of the respective localities whither the inquiries were sent. From a prominent point in Florida the information was imparted that Henry Hutchinson and William E. Jones might be reckoned among the most intelligent class, with the additional information that both gentlemen were "small merchants." But the statement was coupled with the gratuitous slur that "there are *none* 'reliable.'" Such a feeling is not honorable to the men of the South. It constitutes an impediment to the perfect establishment of peace and good will between the races which compose the Southern population, and which is essential to the material development of that part of our common country. It is due, however, to the people of the South to say that of the hundreds of inquiries made only three replies were similar to the case stated above, which reflected upon the general character of the negro as a citizen and man of business. It is humiliating to add that all three of the letters which contained reflections upon the negroes as a class of people came from Government officials, appointed to office by an administration which poses as the distinctive supporter and advocate of the recently emancipated race.

Very few persons, aside from an intensely philanthropic class of people which is circumscribed in numbers and influence, can have an idea of the rebuffs which a person meets in undertaking a great work of humanity. The anti-slavery agitation of half a century ago must have made such stout hearts as those of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Dr. Bailey, Horace Greeley, Gerritt Smith, John Greenleaf Whittier and scores of others to quake when they encountered the storm of adverse criticism to which their efforts in the cause of humanity gave rise. But they had blazed a path through the dark forest of prejudice and superstition which they trod until it became the highway of justice and God-given right. Their work became easy enough when it was taken up by a great political organization, thus bringing to their aid the forces of half the voting strength of a score of States, intensified by the constant appeals of tens of thousands of men who hoped to ride into office and local power by means of party success. It is to be hoped that the grant of pensions to the old slaves of this land will be accomplished without disturbing the harmony of party lines. But if the blindness of party infatuation refuses the right, for the sake of party, the work must and will go on until success is achieved by riding an existing party to the death and bringing to the front a new hope, upon the banner whereof the motto of justice shall be emblazoned in letters of light and life.

It may not be improper at this stage of the pending discussion to say that every effort to pave the way for assistance in the good work in hand has been made, and, while a degree of success has been achieved, the majority of people abundantly able to help forward the appeal in behalf of the ex-slaves of our Union have either excused themselves from helping the cause, or have ignored the appeal addressed to them altogether. Beginning at the point of highest authority in temporal affairs, it was thought that the moral aid and encouragement of the ruler of a people which produced a Wilberforce, to battle for the suppression of the slave trade, might be invoked in behalf of the relicts of a slavery planted on American soil by means of British cupidity. So the queen of Britain was asked to help forward the work in hand, through a communication addressed to her majesty from Omaha, Neb., immediately after the publication of the first edition of "Vaughan's Freedmen's Pension Bill" and appeal, in pamphlet book form. Accompanying a copy of the work mailed to her address the following letter was written to Queen Victoria from the office of the Omaha *Daily Democrat*, in the summer of 1890:

To Her Majesty, Victoria, Queen of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Windsor Castle, near London, England.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACIOUS MAJESTY:

I send you to-day, by mail, a copy of a small volume which I have prepared, entitled "Vaughan's Freedmen's Pension Bill, or a Plea for the Old Slave."

If your Majesty will have the kindness to peruse the volume I have the honor to mail to your address, you will find a copy of the bill I have had introduced in the American Congress, asking that pensions be granted to emancipated slaves. As your country had control of this at the time the institution of African slavery was introduced on this soil, I hope, and believe, you will find the subject treated by me of possible interest to you and the people of your great kingdom. As I desire to place a copy of my publication in the hands of every Anglo-Saxon citizen, showing to them that a wrong of ages is asked to be righted; and as Great Britain and the United States are alike responsible for the wrong committed, and as I am personally unable to distribute this small work over the States and through your kingdom, and having faith in your well-known philanthropic disposition, I have esteemed it possible you might wish to lend your assistance in the distribution.

I shall feel proud, in the next edition, to give recognition of any contribution that may be made, or any article that may be prepared, with a view of aiding the once enslaved negro. I trust and beg that your Majesty will take time to read the book sent you before forming an opinion adversely to my undertaking. I have spent thousands of dollars in this effort already, and eight millions of American negroes feel very grateful to me, and those helping me, so that neither expense to myself nor my country will induce me to abandon the great cause I have voluntarily espoused.

A response to my appeal from one so good and great as your Majesty will be most religiously esteemed.

I have the honor to be, most humbly and obediently yours,

WALTER R. VAUGHAN.

It will readily appear to the candid reader that the appeal to the British Queen was justly and fairly taken, and that a recognition of the work which the author has espoused might reasonably have been expected. But such has not been the fact, her Majesty may not have approved of slave emancipation within these States. It is surely true that her people, of a by-gone era, enforced slavery upon the colonies, which then yielded ready recognition of the British

Crown as the supreme head of their established government. It was hoped that the reigning Monarch of the British Islands rejoiced with Americans upon the emancipation of a slavery which the parental government had inflicted upon an unwilling people. But it seems that the head of the English Government is now as selfishly complaisant of past errors as her forefathers were when they planted negro slavery upon the colonies of North America against the protest of her colonial subjects. When we stop to reflect upon the unnatural and unchristian conduct of the English rulers toward their Irish inhabitancy it is sensibly appreciable why they should shut their ears against a just statement of their former barbarity exercised in this land, and refuse to help toward manhood a race of men they once degraded below the brutes of the swineherd and the wild beasts of ferocious nature. It may be surprising, but it is nevertheless true, that the English Crown and the titled nobility of that country has never yet followed in a train of thought that had its origin with the democratic tendency of the United States or of any other republican form of government. In the days of the American rebellion the potentates of Great Britain would readily have sided with the South had it not been that the establishment of the Confederacy might have continued the supremacy of slavery upon American soil,—an idea which English lordship rejected as soon as the traffic in human merchandise was made unpopular, and hence not profitable to British merchantmen previously engaged in the slave trade. When the profit of stealing men and woman from Africa and reducing them to bondage within American territorial jurisdiction ceased to be a safe and prudent venture it was quite easy for lordly nabobism to follow in the footsteps of Wilberforce and other friends of humanity who berated the institution of slavery because of its innate error and not on account of methods of expediency.

When Mason and Slidell were sent to Europe during the War of the Rebellion, in the hope of inducing such powerful States as Great Britain and France to give recognition to Southern independence, it was found by these envoys that the fatal impediment in the direction of a successful mission consisted in the fact that public sentiment, gaining force gradually from the masses to the aristocracy, was intensely anti-slavery; and unless the peculiar institution should be immediately or gradually abolished, the hope of ultimate recognition was nearly or quite impossible. Under date of London, November 4, 1862, Mr. Mason informed Mr. Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State for the Confederate Government, that he found Lord Palmerston implacable upon the subject of the slave trade (and of course incidentally of slavery itself); and in reply to a very friendly suggestion from that statesman Mr. Mason had made the statement: "That this condition of society (slavery) was one with which, in our opinion, the destinies of the South were indissolubly connected." Other envoys sent by the Confederacy to Europe appear to have encountered a strong undercurrent of anti-slavery feeling among the masses which was gradually felt in Government circles. Edwin De Leon, a man of erudition and persuasive logic, was forced to tell Mr.

Benjamin, in a letter from Paris, bearing date of June 19, 1863, that he had encountered a sentiment that was impregnable, and this sentiment consisted in the expressions "repeated over and over again by persons connected with the Government and enjoying the confidence of the Emperor—'France can not take the lead in acknowledging the Southern Confederacy without some promise for prospective emancipation.'" Further on, in the same communication, after detailing the opinions of many French statesmen and scholars, including Count de Lesseps, the wonderful civil engineer of the world, Mr. De Leon said: "It is vain to tell them (French scholars and statesmen) how utterly impracticable such a proposition (slave emancipation) must be, and that Southern people never would consent to purchase recognition at the price of such a concession of wrong doing as it would imply."

It is sad to be obliged to antagonize the opinion of so eminent a man as Edwin De Leon, for he was a great man, but the truth must be told in the interest of a work which overlaps all the greatness of the great work of history. Truth and justice must prevail. At the same time Mr. De Leon was doing his utmost to sustain the tottering slave power, and while Slidell and Mason were working with might and main to secure the recognition of European governments in behalf of the seceding States, which sought to establish a separate government from that wrought in the Revolutionary period, other forces were at work to circumvent the work of the seceders and their envoys sent abroad. The anti-slavery sentiments of William Wilberforce and those who thought with him that personal liberty was the natural condition of all mankind had taken deep root in the feelings of statesmen representing the work of civilization throughout the world. Among other appeals made by Southern men to persons of high renown in Church and State throughout all Europe, it is proper to say that Jefferson Davis addressed a letter directly to His Holiness Pope Pius IX., of Rome, in which his intercession was sought through the powerful ecclesiastical organization which the Pope represents throughout the civilized and religious world. The letter of Mr. Davis to His Holiness was presented through Mr. A. Dudley Mann, who bore credentials from "The Southern Independence Association of London," and an address in which the following significant passage appeared:

"This Association will also, in particular, steadily but kindly represent to the Southern States that recognition by Europe must necessarily lead to a revision of the system of servile labor unhappily bequeathed to them by England, in accordance with the spirit of the age, so as to combine the gradual extinction of slavery, with the preservation of property, the maintenance of the civil polity of the true civilization of the negro race."

The sentiment quoted above did not suit the sensibilities of Mr. Mann, and in communicating the address of the Southern Independence Association to Mr. Benjamin, he took occasion to dissent from the idea of a "gradual extinction of slavery," coupled with a "preservation of property," and he couched his expression of dissent in these words:

"It is lamentable to perceive that our professed, and, as I am inclined to believe, well-disposed friends have committed themselves to the keeping up of an agitation against the cherished institution of the States composing our Confederacy, even after our recognition."

The communication to Mr. Benjamin last above referred to was transmitted by Mr. Mann from London January 29, 1864. So it appears that within a little more than a year of the collapse of the Confederacy the idea was still entertained in high quarters that the "cherished institution of the States composing the Confederacy" might be maintained as the chief corner-stone of the building of a new republic. But the persons to whom Southern agents made their appeal did not take kindly to that view. His Holiness, Pope Pius IX., while receiving Mr. Davis' letter of appeal in kindly terms, took occasion to institute an inquiry "whether it might not be judicious for the Confederates to consent to gradual emancipation." According to the report of Special Envoy Slidell at his first interview with the French Emperor, in July, 1862, Napoleon III. asked him "whether we anticipated any difficulty from our slaves."

So it appears, from the most reliable data that can be gathered from authentic sources, the impediment which stood in the way of a successful establishment of the Southern Confederacy upon a firm and enduring basis, which would have received the instant recognition of the most powerful of European States, was the existence of the unnatural institution of human slavery as the foundation of its productive field of labor. In the process of time the men of the South, high in the authority of the Confederacy, came to view the possibility of slavery being the loadstone which would attract the newly formed system of government upon the inevitable rock of failure. Toward the close of the career of the Confederacy a wholesale emancipation of slaves was seriously considered as a necessity involving the only hope of future existence and recognition by important European powers. It is known that in the last days of the Confederacy Mr. Duncan F. Kenner, of New Orleans, was sent as a special envoy to Europe, with possible authority of giving a guarantee of emancipation. He had served in the Confederate Congress, and had become satisfied that "it was impossible to prosecute the war to a successful issue without a recognition of the Confederacy by at least one of the maritime powers of western Europe, into the ports of which the Southern States might carry their prizes, make repairs, and get supplies. He was also satisfied that they would never secure recognition or any substantial aid so long as the foundations of their projected new empire rested on slavery." At least, Hon. John Bigelow has made this emphatic declaration in the columns of the *Century Magazine*. (See May number, 1891.) Mr. Kenner sailed from New York in the spring of 1865, in a British steamer, having passed through the Confederate outposts and the Union lines without his identity becoming known. He had interviews with Lord Palmerston in England, and with the Emperor Napoleon at Paris, to whom he unfolded his plans of recognition by the British

and French Governments, upon emancipation being proclaimed by the President of the Southern Confederacy. While his negotiations abroad were pending, intelligence of Sherman's successful march to the sea, and of the capitulation of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, was carried to Europe, which dashed to earth the last hope of the Confederacy. The statements concerning the mission of Mr. Kenner abroad, and of the contemplated plan of emancipation by the South, have been confirmed in a communication written by Mr. Ben. C. Truman to the *New York Times* of July 24, 1890, in which that gentleman credits the late Robert Toombs, of Georgia (the man once made famous by his declaration that he expected to see the day when he would be able to call the roll of his slaves from the monument on Bunker Hill), with the expression of his belief that if the South had made the abolition of slavery a part of its policy it would have had England and France on its side, and the Confederacy would have succeeded. There prevails also a well defined rumor that in the closing days of the Confederate Congress at Richmond, a heated discussion respecting negro manumission took place, growing out of a communication submitted to that body by Mr. Jefferson Davis. If the rumor is authentic the paper which gave rise to the debate was probably connected with the secret mission abroad of Mr. Duncan F. Kenner. But the records of the last discussions in the Confederate Congress are imperfect, and record testimony of many events are not now available.

The fact, however, is not now seriously questioned that the Southern people, or at least those who held high political positions, had arrived at the conclusion, in the spring of 1865, that their hope of independent governmental sovereignty could only be secured by means of slavery emancipation. With such knowledge, the people of the great North ought to be impressed with a true sensibility of the debt that is due to the old slaves, because of the link they formed in preventing a severance of the States of the union. Had the point been reached during the era of hostilities when the South would have welcomed the negroes of ante-bellum days to be a free people, it is probable that no power on earth could have prevented the seceding States from the accomplishment of their political independence. In addition, then, to being the instrumentality whereby our glorious republic became, indeed, a free people, no person in all this broad land being restrained of personal liberty, except for the punishment of crime whereof the offending party may have been duly convicted in a court of justice, the negro race may justly lay claim to the distinction of affording the general Government the means of bringing together in the family of States all the constitutional elements of our diversified nationality. States are no longer dissevered and belligerent, but all are happily united, under one flag, in a bond of amity and union which the combined armies and navies of the world may not prevail against with success. That such a boon has been brought about through the agency of negro freemen once held in servitude, certainly entitles that race to a degree of compensation for the

chains of slavery which they were so recently obliged to endure in pursuance of unjust and repressive laws.

In seeking to interest persons of exalted stations in the plan for the amelioration of ex-slaves the work has been pursued in a way to include men of financial standing and business influence, within the scope of those who might feel generously inclined to favor a noble and praiseworthy undertaking. While appeals have been made abroad, the general line of communication has been confined to men and women of well known generosity within the United States. In the main, responses to appeals and personal solicitation have not lent that degree of encouragement which was hoped for and desired. But no grand aim in life should be silenced because first advances do not meet with encouragement. In fact, rebuffs ought, generally, to excite fresh effort and persistent application, in order that public sympathy and attention may be finally aroused. Among those who were solicited to give a candid consideration, and, possibly, personal aid, to the advancement of Vaughan's Freedmen's pension bill and appeal, it may be proper to mention the case of the great banker and financier, Henry Clews, because the note of Mr. Clews brings into view a line of opposition to the work in hand which must be calmly and considerately combatted, or it will open the way for a strong prejudice which ought not to prevail in the prosecution of any generous and benevolent object having in view the general advancement of the human race. Prejudice is not easily overcome. In handing Mr. Clews a copy of the first edition of this little book he, with others, was addressed as follows:

“Knowing your philanthropy and reputation for justice in every movement that embraces humanity, I esteemed it possible that you might feel inclined to aid in the distribution of an argument solely designed in the interest of humanity.

“It will be a pleasure to acknowledge in the next edition any funds or articles designed to aid me in my work for the negro. I trust and beg that you will read the book mailed to your address by me before coming to a conclusion adversely to my undertaking. I have spent thousands of dollars in the effort to do justice to a class of our people embracing eight millions of our population. These people feel grateful to me for the effort already made, but the mass of them are powerless to aid in a work in which they have an abiding interest. Neither cost to myself or the Government will induce me to abandon a just cause. If you feel inclined to assist in a worthy undertaking your kindly aid will be gratefully appreciated and acknowledged.

“A reply to my letter from a person known to entertain the largest and most liberal sentiments of humanity will be thankfully acknowledged by

Yours very truly,
W. R. VAUGHAN.”

In response to the foregoing appeal Mr. Clews kindly gave the matter in hand his early attention, though not indorsing the effort in view, as may be seen by the full text of his letter, which is given below:

BANKING HOUSE OF HENRY CLEWS & Co., }
NEW YORK, January 3, 1891. }

W. R. Vaughan, Esq., Omaha, Neb.

DEAR SIR: I have your favor of the 27th ult., also the pamphlet mentioned. It will give me pleasure to read it, I am sure. I do not think, however, I can be induced to favor the scheme proposed, for the reason that the pensions now paid by the Government reach \$120,000,000 per annum—a sum entirely too large for the good of the country, and it certainly does not admit of being increased for any purpose whatsoever. Much obliged to you for thinking of me.

Yours very truly,

HENRY CLEWS.

The view taken by Mr. Clews brings up a question that is just now provoking a great deal of attention in the halls of legislation, in the columns of the public press, and in the ordinary channels of conversation and discussion running through all the avenues of society. The pension list as now administered is truly a plague spot in the affairs of Government, for the reason that millions of money are annually distributed in quarters where no shadow of right exists, while many meritorious claimants are awaiting the adjudication of cases that have been delayed months and years without sense or reason. A complete review of the affairs of the pension office is sadly needed, and it will certainly open a field for reform that will tax the energy and ability of cautious statesmen. But because military pensions have become a source of great evil and are calling aloud for the work of the true reformer it does not follow that the Government should hesitate to do ample justice to its subjects which were held in heartless bondage for a long, dark period of years, through no fault of their own and by means of a false and vicious system of political economy. A solvent debtor in private life could hardly expect immunity against the payment of a fair and honest claim against him on the ground that he had paid a dozen other claims which were not justly chargeable against him. Neither can a great Government refuse to pay an honest indemnity due to old slaves on the ground that an exorbitant sum is now annually exacted for military pensions, a part of which may be extortionate and improper.

At a recent meeting of school teachers held in an Eastern State the subject was discussed of providing a State pension for persons who have devoted their lives to the work of education, after they may have severally served thirty years in the educational field. The proposition has given rise to some newspaper comment and the general tenor of the view taken by the public press has not been favorable to the policy proposed to be established. The adverse argument has covered a wide range, but the substantial reasons assigned in antagonism to the innovation have been that teachers have usually received good rates of compensation for their services, and have had opportunities to accumulate property sufficient to provide for their wants in declining years above that garnered in other useful occupations. There is no more reason why an aged and faithful teacher should be supported at public expense in old age, under authority of law, than that similar provision should be made for aged clergymen, physicians, mechanics or tillers of the soil whose labors in life have redounded to the

general welfare as well as to their personal profit. It was possibly an error of opinion that primarily suggested the expediency of retiring judges of the Federal courts, after they arrived at a certain mature age and had served a stipulated term upon the bench, upon an annuity during the residue of their natural lives. The same suggestion may be indulged touching the provision which Congress has made for the benefit of retired officers of the Federal army, and concerning the pensional provision fixed by law for the comfort of widows of certain distinguished soldiers and civilians. While the aggregate amount so paid annually is comparatively unimportant, it may be feared that the way has been prepared for making our Government some day a vast eleemosynary institution, a feature of which will be the voting of prodigious sums of money into the pockets of persons who have managed to place themselves in the position of retainers of the nation.

This slight digression from the direct advocacy of the Vaughan Freedmen's Pension Bill has not been indulged in because of a design to antagonize any class of pensions which Congress may feel inclined to enact into statutory form, but with a view of calling attention to the fact that all kinds of pensions which have heretofore been allowed to public defenders, or to eminent citizens of the country, have consisted in gratuities which the pleasure of Congress has voted to persons worthy of special assistance on account of services rendered to the Government and to the people, either in times of military carnage or in the highest lines of civic eminence. The case of the negroes who have been relieved from unwilling servitude is vastly different from soldiers or statesmen who have performed meritorious service in the field or in civil life. The negro claim is one of indemnity for injuries suffered, while the others have been granted special compensation for duties imposed and properly performed. Perhaps the great claim now asserted in behalf of the negro race ought not to have been denominated a pension. It has been so called because all classes of direct assistance voted by the representatives of the Government, to be paid in monthly, annual or periodical sums of money, have been denominated pensions in common parlance. But the claim now pressed is a bounden duty which the Government owes, and in providing for its liquidation the Congress is not asked to grant a gratuity but to pay a debt. No volume of money that might be poured out at the feet of the old slaves would compensate the negro race for the deep wrong they have endured. In making a reasonable and prudent demand, graduated so that those who endured the heat and burden of the dominion of slavery may be fairly fed and clothed in their declining years, while the young generation will obtain a recognition that will remind them of the horrors which their parents suffered; the best method is presented consistent with the ability of the Government to discharge its duty and one which the old slave will accept with patient feeling and thankful heart.

In closing this branch of appeal it may be right to ask whether the liberty of the negro race, enjoyed by them in the United States for more than a quarter of a century, has demonstrated the race to merit the requiting of the great debt which our Government owes to them? This interrogation may be suitably answered by the reproduction of part of an able communication found in the columns of the *Christian Recorder*, published at 631 Pine street, Philadelphia, April 30, 1891, and written by General J. S. Clarkson, late assistant Postmaster General, and one of the ablest journalists to be found in the United States. The article appears to have been a selection from another newspaper, but it is made use of, partially, in the form which the *Recorder* presents it, as follows:

"One of the best and most encouraging signs, to me, for the final vindication and complete liberty of the colored people is the mighty strength in which they are arising, not only to protect themselves in all their rights, but to put out their hands in more than human and almost divine sympathy for human suffering and distress wherever it exists.

"The black race is the sympathetic race of the world. It never sees sorrow without seeming to share in it. It never sees distress without wanting to go to its help. It never sees tyranny without wanting to fight it. Its heart is broad and warm, and keenly sensitive to everything needing succor or sympathy.

"I look with admiration upon a race rising out of the dust and coming up to the average intelligence of the black people of America to-day. Recent visits to the South, and close and careful examination have shown me that there are very few colored people under 30 years of age who can not read and write. I found the old people, the negroes of war days, filled with philosophy and kindness, holding no resentment to the South for the days of slavery. . . . I saw, in scores of cabins, many young people learning to read from the Bible.

"The black race is no more capable of being suppressed and no more in danger of being degraded back into slavery, or a servile peasantry, than were the American people in the Revolution; and to-day the blacks of America twice outnumber the American people who fought the War of the Revolution. Man may delay the fulfillment of human nature or divine purpose of Government, but he can not for very long. The progress of the black race in America may be a little delayed but it can never be stopped.

"In the humanity of a race there is something higher than politics. All that is noble in American citizenship, and all that is sweet and dear in human rights, are involved in it."

It is in behalf of those citizens who have endured the bitterest wrongs of oppression that an appeal is now made, asking that the right thinking people of every race will do a reasonable part towards lifting the stain of injustice from the escutcheon of the American name and character.

A SERIOUS VIEW.

The author of this work is in no sense an alarmist, and in the propagation of a meritorious work it is important that reason, rather than impulse, should have sway under any and all circumstances. But the white citizens of the United States ought not to shut their eyes to the fact that the black race within these States is multiplying more rapidly, in a relative sense, than the white race. When the freedom of the manumitted slaves was confirmed by an amendment to the Federal Constitution in 1865, the number so set at liberty was a fraction below 5,000,000 people. The number of free blacks in all the States prior to emancipation was a very small percentage of the entire race in this country. After the lapse of a quarter of a century the census of last year shows, or will show when complete in detail, that the number of negroes exceeds eight millions of people. Here is a race increase of quite 50 per cent. in two and one-half decades, while the total increase of population has not increased more than 25 per cent. It follows that the blacks of our land are generating their species with double the rapidity that the whites are doing. Under such conditions it becomes important that future harmony between the races shall be supported and sustained by a generous and humane treatment while the colored people constitute the weaker and more dependent race.

In order that the idea here advanced may be the better appreciated, let us have reference to a few official figures. The census of 1870 showed the total number of the white population of all the States and Territories to be 33,589,877 souls. In 1880 this white population had increased to 43,402,970 persons, or an augmentation of less than thirty per cent. A complete exhibit of the census of 1890 will demonstrate that the relative increase of the white population has materially declined.

Now, contrast this race exhibit by that made by the negro population. In 1870 there were 4,880,009 people of color in all the States and Territories. In 1880 the negro citizenship of our country had increased to 6,580,793 souls, or a rate of thirty-five per cent. Thus the relative increase of blacks was five per cent. greater on the part of blacks than whites. In the last ten years this ratio has been vastly accelerated in favor of the negro population.

The total population of eight States, whites and blacks, in 1890, contrasted with 1880, is as follows:

	1890.	1880.
Alabama	1,513,017	1,262,288
Florida.....	39 ¹ ,422	269,690
Georgia...	1,837,353	1,542,029
Louisiana.....	1,118,587	938,609
Mississippi.....	1,289,600	1,129,689
North Carolina.....	1,617,947	1,398,5.9
South Carolina.....	1,151,149	995,437
Virginia.....	1,655,980	1,512,474
Total.....	10,575,055	9,048,735

It will be observed that the total population of the eight States above noted increased a little less than seventeen per cent. in ten years. The States constitute that portion of the South where the negro population has its greatest strength. In three of the States the negro is in a numerical majority. In those States statistics show that his relative increase between 1870 and 1880 was vastly greater than the white increase. The small percentage of total increase in the last ten years leaves a natural deduction that the black man has had the greater part of the added population, which has been the natural production of his species, while the white race has had the advantage of a large northern and foreign immigration.

The study of this branch of a scientific question is of vital interest, for it leads to the conclusion that in the warm latitude of the Gulf States the negroes will outgrow the white people with surprising strides. What, then, shall be done to keep the races in harmony? Manifestly the scheme of an enforced exodus of the negroes to a foreign clime is too chimerical to be seriously considered. Moreover, the South needs the negro labor, and can have it in the future as in the past. But to prevent friction between the races a measure of such justice should be meted out to the negro as will satisfy him that he is among his friends. The Vaughan Pension Bill is the one above all others that will produce harmony of sentiment. It is not in force laws, nor in election excitement, nor in any measure that will strain the relations between the whites and blacks, that will produce perfect contentment and good will. Let justice and right be done and concord will prevail. The Vaughan Pension Bill is both just and right.

A SOUTHERN VIEW.

The cartoon presented on the first page (or cover) is intended to delineate an idea. Prior to the War of the Rebellion a considerable preponderance of those articles of export which enabled the people of the United States to maintain a valuable trade with foreign nations were articles of Southern production and were the fruits of slave labor. The cotton, the tobacco, the rice and very many lesser articles raised from the soil, constituted such an important part of American exports, that without them a system of exchanges could not have been maintained abroad, and those foreign wares upon which our Government revenue was raised would have sought other markets instead of coming to ours. But the vessels laden with foreign goods which came hither, induced by the rich fruits of Southern plantations, enabled our Federal Government to levy a moderate tariff and thus fill the coffers of the nation with abundant revenues. It is not too much to say that the slave labor of Southern plantations provided the maximum portion of the revenue

which has accomplished the vast work which the Government at Washington has carried forward in more than a century of its existence.

After three-quarters of a century of raising revenue on the production of slave labor, the war came and the slave went free. One of the consequences of that war is an enormous pension list, of more than \$130,000,000 annually, not one dollar of which goes to a soldier who fought under the banner of the South. But the South is taxed alike with the North to pay that immense sum. Moreover, the South is now compelled to maintain those old and decrepid negroes who have been freed in their midst, as well as to do its full share in providing pensions for the sick and wounded men at the North whose services in the Union ranks made the slave a free man. The passage of the Vaughan measure would relieve the wants of the freedmen, and the money so distributed would do much toward enriching the Southern section. All classes would be benefited by the passage of a tardy act of justice which would liberate many an aged negro from Southern almshouses, enabling them to live in comfort, and at the same time the taxpayers would be relieved from the necessity of contributing to their support.

The artist has illustrated as best he could the old negro raising the crops out of which the Government derived her revenue, and then turning him out to starve in his old age, and forcing him to become a burden upon the taxpayers, who are also taxed to support the men of the North suffering from wounds and diseases contracted in setting the negroes free. The picture is a peculiar one, but it goes to the heart of the question of doing justice to the slaves of olden days.

LABORS OF THE AUTHOR.

During the months of April and May, 1891, the writer visited Chicago and other cities with a view of conferring with intelligent citizens touching the spirit of the proposed Old Slave Pension Law, and particularly with a desire and purpose of learning how the proposition to grant pensions to former slaves would be received among thinking and educated men. At the beginning it was difficult to get the attention of the best elements of either white or black people. Persistence, however, wrought wonders, and the result was one meeting for public discussion. The attendance was not great, but it consisted of thinking people. The seed of a great idea was planted and it soon produced fruit. As the immortal Bryant wrote:

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again:
The eternal years of God are hers."

The prophetic words of poesy appeared to be true in this instance, for the result of the first public discussion was an enthusiastic audience, assembled April 26, 1891, in Lincoln Hall, at the request of Dr. J. H. Magee, the cultured and able editor of the *Chicago Brotherhood*, and other able representatives of the colored race, at which a fair percentage of white persons were present, including several representatives of the Chicago press. Of course W. R. Vaughan, the author, made the principal address, explaining and expounding his theories; but there was other speaking, and the result of the meeting was a commendable understanding of the broad purpose which the author has in view, and a spirit of determination manifested to give the theory of ex-slave pension not only a fair trial but a courageous support before the people and in the halls of Congress. As a fair expression of the Lincoln Hall meeting, the following report is extracted from the columns of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* of Monday morning, April 27, 1891. Other papers of the city—most, if not all, of them—gave elaborate reports of the meeting and couched their statements in temperate, if not decidedly in friendly terms. But the report of the *Inter-Ocean* will give a fair idea of what was done and said, and attention is therefore asked to it:

"You can't elevate your race so long as you feel that you owe somebody, when they really owe you something."

This was the keynote of a talk that Mr. W. R. Vaughan, of Omaha, made to an audience of colored people at Lincoln Hall, on Thirty-first street, last night. It was at the evening services of Bethel A. M. E. Church, and Mr. Vaughan's speech came in place of the sermon. The Omaha man is the author of a bill for pensioning the ex-slaves. It was introduced into Congress by Representative Cornell, of Nebraska, and has passed its second reading.

It has been a pet project of Mr. Vaughan's for years, but his views have not before been aired in this city.

He said down South are 4,000,000 of ex-slaves, practically paupers, and made so by slavery, which he holds is a crime of the Government which should now be atoned for. He disclaimed any purpose in his endeavors for the negro other than simple philanthropy. He said he had already spent a great deal of money in the cause.

"If Chicago starts the ball rolling," he said, "it will never stop. I propose going to England later, for she, too, owes her part. I mean, also, to go all through the South."

"If it had not been for the colored man the war would be going on yet," he continued. "The negro race don't owe the white race anything; the world owes the negro race a great deal. This Government has never done anything for the negro except what it had to. As long as he keeps quiet it will not either. The Sioux is treated better because he has kicked. You have got to stop paying respect to any two or three men—Douglas or anybody else—until they get down to your level. There are 9,000,000 negroes in this country, and if they stick together they can dictate to all political parties. Stand by yourselves and the nation will tremble."

The speaker read a number of letters from statesmen and bankers. They rejected the scheme or ignored it, and he scored them roundly.

There was a large audience present, and it grew very enthusiastic under the spell of Mr. Vaughan's earnest words. Resolutions were adopted, reading as follows:

WHEREAS, The Hon. W. R. Vaughan has devoted many years to the subject of pensioning the old slaves of the South, and has prepared and had a bill introduced in Congress that has passed to a second reading (House bill No. 11,119, dated June 24, 1890), and as this subject is of importance to 9,000,000 of colored people and some 50,000,000 of whites in the United States, and as Mayor Vaughan has written a book, explaining his bill and the wrongs of the colored people, for circulation, having spent thousands of dollars personally in his laudable undertaking, and as he is the first white man to ask or demand a pension for the former slaves of the United States, therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Afro-American tax-payers and voters of Chicago, in convention now assembled at Lincoln Hall, representing a population of nearly 30,000 Afro-Americans, believing, as we do, that the work undertaken by Mr. Vaughan is one of justice and right, do hereby pledge him our earnest co-operation and encouragement, and we do hereby promise him, ourselves and our thousands of brethren, for whom Mr. Vaughan has been and is philanthropically working, that we will support the candidate for political trust who is favorable to the pensioning of the former slaves of the United States, and be it further

Resolved, That we at once organize a "Vaughan ex-Slave Pension Club" for the purpose of rendering all possible aid in securing equity for America's former slaves, and that we call on the Afro-Americans, throughout the United States to join with us in similar resolutions and organizations, and we trust and pray that the national disgrace partly wiped out may be absolutely obliterated and a great wrong righted. Be it

Resolved, That the chair appoint a committee to draft on parchment these resolutions, having the same signed by the president and secretary of this meeting, and that they be presented to the Hon. W. R. Vaughan, our friend, and that a copy of the same be furnished to the press of Chicago and the Afro-American papers of the United States.

It would be improper not to say that the resolutions above printed were read before the Lincoln Hall meeting by Dr. Magee, of the *Brotherhood*, an able newspaper devoted to the interest of the negro race, in a clear voice, which manifested deep and manly sensibility. The reading called forth a storm of applause which clearly evinced the feeling and sentiment of the large audience.

The effect of the first address in behalf of the negro pension was so marked as to secure an invitation for ex-Mayor Vaughan to address another meeting; and Dr. Magee, assisted by other prominent citizens, arranged with the pastor of the Washington Chapel (Rev. G. W. Gaines, formerly a Kentucky slave, is the pastor, and he is also a finished gentleman and an able man) for Mr. Vaughan to speak at the chapel. In communicating the arrangement Dr. Magee was pleased to indulge in some sentiments which evince the deep-seated reverence the negroes, as a class, entertain towards one who has sought to befriend and elevate their race; and, illustrative of their feeling, the following extract from Dr. Magee's note is inserted:

HON. W. R. VAUGHAN, Richelieu Hotel.

*My Dear Friend: * * * ** A number of colored men expressed a desire to call on you Friday noon. If you can arrange to meet us I will notify them of the time and place you may suggest. The people are delighted with your plans, and, like the people in the days of Christ, they exclaim, "Sirs, we would see Jesus." Paraphrase the sentence and it would read, "We want to see this good man, Vaughan." Let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours respectfully,

J. H. MAGEE.

Complying with the request made, Mr. Vaughan suggested parlor "G," of the Richelieu Hotel, as the place to meet his colored friends, naming date and 1 o'clock P. M. for the meeting. It was a satisfactory union of men of two races, united in an earnest endeavor to accomplish a good work. The interview was very satisfactory, and gave promise of good results in the near future.

The meeting at the church of the G. W. Gaines was all that could have been desired, and on that occasion the foundation of a mighty undertaking was mapped out in a way that has given a great cause good promise of successful fulfillment. The report of this meeting, given below, is also extracted from the columns of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*. That paper said :

W. R. Vaughan, of Omaha, Neb., lectured last night to a large audience of colored people at Washington Chapel, on Dearborn street, near Twenty-ninth, on the ex-slave pension law which is before Congress. This is the second speech Mr. Vaughan has delivered on this subject—both to Chicago audiences.

He first took an interest in the pensioning of all ex-slaves in 1870, when he visited his dying father in Alabama, and while passing through Mississippi saw old and feeble colored men kicked and cuffed about by railroad officials because they were unable to pay their fare.

Up to this time Mr. Vaughan says he has spent \$12,000 in distributing pamphlets on the subject, and he does not intend to rest until his object is accomplished. He is the author of the bill, and he is more than assured of its passage and its becoming a law. After leaving Chicago he will visit the principal cities all over the country, where he will deliver speeches and exhort the people to interest themselves in the cause.

"I would feel guilty, as an American citizen, until the ex slaves have been given only what is their just due," he said. "I plead not only for the old slaves, but for the young ones as well, who were placed in bondage when all their property was surrendered to the Government, and they have had to toil like dogs to feed their old gray-haired parents."

These sentiments, coming from such a man as Mr. Vaughan, sound strange. He is a Southerner and a Democrat. His father and uncles were all large slave owners. * * *

He went on to show why this debt to the colored people is a genuine debt, and how by organizing they can compel the Government to recognize their claims and pay them a pension, which would amount to but a small portion of what they have lost. "If we do not settle this question now it will be settled by our children's children, and in a very forcible manner, when the colored people will greatly outnumber the whites. Besides, the more intelligent the negroes become, the more they hate the whites. Why is this so? Because they see how unjustly they are treated, while the treacherous and uneducated Indian is encouraged to murder by being paid and humored to grow lazy and insolent," said he. * * *

Clubs will be organized in Chicago to arouse interest in this pension bill. Mr. Vaughan has made arrangements for badges. The design is a suggestive one—a negro chained and handcuffed, with the flag of the Union waving over him.

Another idea Mr. Vaughan has is the erection of a handsome home and hospital for aged ex-slaves. It is to be called the "National ex-Slaves' Home" and is to accommodate 2,000 inmates. After the old slaves are all dead it will be turned into a military school for young colored men, to be called the "Afro-American West Point."

Just where this building will be built is not yet determined, and Mr. Vaughan will consult with some of the leading colored people of the country before the site is selected. The best place is thought to be near some large city, and already land has been offered. Yesterday Mr. Vaughan received a letter from the Patterson Trust Company, of Chicago, offering fifty acres of

land, within thirty minutes' ride of the city, for the purpose. The company offers to furnish warranty deed and perfect abstract of title upon demand.

A HOME FOR OLD SLAVES.

In asking Congress to be just and fair towards the slaves of the anti-bellum period it has occurred to the author of this work that many ex-slaves are now or may be so decrepit and dependent before the day of relief arrives that they will be suffering those tortures incident to all human beings depressed by hunger and want, which their own effort will be unable to supply. For the relief of such it has suggested itself to the mind of the writer that private beneficence could be invoked for the establishment of a hospital or home, managed after the general spirit and manner of the various soldiers' homes now extant, where dependent freedmen may be cared for in their old and declining years. This subject was discussed at a public meeting in Chicago, and met with hearty favor. As a sequence of such discussion the communication appearing below was written to the subscribers and signed by a real estate firm, amply able to perform its pledges and to assist materially in the promotion of a humane work of vast magnitude.

Of course the plan proposed is yet crude, and may undergo considerable amendment before it is put in operation. But the general plan will embrace a use for property donated as a site for hospital or home purposes after the race of old slaves shall have become extinct. It has occurred to the author that there might be provision made for a military school for colored youth, where the coming generations of black citizens might be schooled in the manual of arms, and in sciences incident thereto, which will add to their usefulness in life. For the advancement of such a theory, and a promulgation of the general ideas involved, the following proposition has been submitted and is still open to acceptance. [Other propositions and localities are solicited and will be carefully considered. The house will not cost less than a million dollars.]

CHICAGO, ILL., May 6, 1891.

HON. W. R. VAUGHAN, Omaha, Neb.:

Dear Sir: Having heard that it was your desire to secure, gratis, fifty acres of good land within thirty minutes ride of some nice city for the purpose of beautifying the grounds and erecting a handsome home and hospital for the ex-slaves of the South, the same to be known as the "National Ex-Slaves' Home," and the buildings are to be sufficiently large to accommodate over 2,000 persons, and at the death of all of America's ex-slaves, we are told it is your purpose to dedicate the property to the young colored men as a military school to be known as the "Afro-American West Point," and that the same is to be conducted similar to that of our present Government at West Point.

If we are correctly informed, we desire to offer you, as Trustee and Manager, the fifty acres of land wanted. It is within thirty minutes car-ride of Chicago, Illinois. We will furnish warranty deed and perfect abstract of title upon demand.

Should you, in behalf of the colored people of the United States, accept this offer, please call at our offices on Dearborn street, that we may consummate the matter.

Very Respectfully,

PATTERSON TRUST CO.,

By R. W. Patterson.

In canvassing through the States in behalf of the pension appeal and wherever the author may go he will advocate the endowment of a home and hospital of the kind proposed. It will be governed by a board of five directors, including the author, the residue to be representative colored men, in whose selection subscribers to a hospital fund shall have a fair and equitable voice. Of course, the plan is yet crude, and suggestions looking to its improvement, from any respectable source, will be most gladly heard and considered.

Returning from his Eastern trip, Mr. Vaughan addressed two public meetings at Omaha in advocacy of his views, the first at Boyd's Opera House, and the second at one of the colored churches of the city. At the latter meeting especially, there was a large and intensely interested auditory, every man and woman of which entered with spirit and determination into the plans which Mr. Vaughan developed. The meeting was also addressed by the pastor of the church, who gave his willing assent and encouragement to the plan of pension as a work of justice which the Government owed to its once enslaved inhabitants. As far as active labor in behalf of the pension proposition has been carried forward, there is reason to hope for a success at a day much earlier than great reforms usually meet with fruition when they are unfolded to the masses of the people for the first time.

The plan of granting pensions to ex-slaves was originally broached by the author of this work, who is an Omaha citizen. The first bill introduced into Congress looking to the great end in view was drafted by the author and presented in the House of Representatives by an Omaha citizen who represented the Omaha district.

The first public meeting upon the question took place in Omaha, at which a number of her ablest colored citizens were present. That meeting took place in the month of June, 1890, and the following resolutions then and there adopted were transmitted to Mr. Vaughan, for which he cordially expressed thanks and approval:

WHEREAS, The United States Government did, for three-quarters of a century, abet, aid and encourage slavery, the northern and southern States alike, thus making the entire Government responsible for the great injustice perpetrated on the colored people, even to the extent that the slaves were taxed as chattels to the amount of millions of dollars, and

WHEREAS, The glory of freedom consists in its magnitude and justice, and

WHEREAS, The negro was made a freeman in pursuance of a sentiment of right, and

WHEREAS, The proclamations of Abraham Lincoln intended to right the wrongs of ages, and

WHEREAS, The voice of freedom holds forth the idea of universal liberty, therefore

Resolved, That the sons of liberty, represented in the African race of to-day, demand that all men made free ought to have full right of independence, irrespective of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Resolved, That we heartily concur with the Hon. W. R. Vaughan in demanding that the great wrong be righted and that America's former slaves be pensioned for the injustice done them; not only for the benefit of the slaves themselves, but that the United States may be recognized by foreign nations, as ever ready to compensate those upon whom it has committed wrong.

Resolved, That eternal honor is due ex-Mayor Vaughan, who, as early as 1870, conceived the right of pension to the men whose best days were spent in slavery, and who personally, in 1883, gave his views in writing to distinguished senators and members of Congress.

Resolved, That all colored men released from bondage are under personal obligations to Mayor Vaughan for the manly position taken by him for their rights.

Resolved, That our lives, the honor of our Government and our most sacred rights are involved in the proposition which Mr. Vaughan has caused to be presented to the American Congress, through a bill prepared by him and introduced at his request by the Hon. W. J. Connell, member of Congress from Nebraska, and we will do our utmost to establish those rights, and to have them observed as the law of the land.

Resolved, That colored men everywhere are requested to form clubs and to communicate with W. R. Vaughan with a view to prompt and efficient action.

Resolved, That the press of the United States, independent of political divisions, be and hereby is respectfully requested to publish these resolutions, and to state to the public the spirit of the law proposed by Mayor Vaughan.

A. D. WHITE, Chairman.

F. L. BARNETT, Secretary.

The few persons of the city of Omaha who first took an interest in this noble work of humanity have been augmented in number by others, who have given the question at issue proper study and inspection. The number should continue to increase. The great and humane thought at the beginning belongs to Omaha, and it is certain at last to prevail. It is meet and right that Omaha should have due credit in the hour of success.

THE VOICE OF THE PRESS.

The power of the newspaper press of the United States is a popular lever- age, carrying a weight of influence exceeding any other engine of thought that has a tendency to create and promote opinion. The press united in favor of any one device or thought would be invincible. The diverse views of editorial writers have the effect of producing discussion of public questions, out of which the truth is generally evolved. The author of this little work kindly acknowledges the benefit which his labors have received from editorial sources, both in book notices and suggestions from knights of the quill, which have had a pleasing effect in overcoming rank prejudice in a number of cases. It would be a pleasure to have the press of the country discuss the various phases of the Vaughan Freedmen's Pension Bill, as the same shall appear to them. Discussion can do no harm, and in the interchange of views there is a possibility that those antagonistic to the convictions of the author may find a new light manifesting itself to them. Necessarily many valuable notices of newspapers have been incorporated into these pages in the presentation of matters wherewith such notices were immediately connected, but many other statements have been printed, of greater or less extent, for which the writers have most sincere acknowledgment. There are others which may not be improperly introduced.

The Chicago *Times* of Friday, August 29, 1890, did not indorse the Vaughan idea of negro pensions, but in noting the presence of the author in the lakeside city was good enough to remark:

Judge W. R. Vaughan, ex-mayor of Council Bluffs, Iowa, now editor and proprietor of the Omaha *Daily Democrat*, is at the Palmer House. Judge Vaughan's latest is to secure pensions for all ex-slaves who are not criminals. June 24, Congressman Connell, by his request, introduced into the national House of Representatives a bill to provide pensions for freedmen. The document provides that all persons released from involuntary servitude, according to the proclamations of Abraham Lincoln, shall be pensioners upon the bounty of the United States excepting those convicted of crime.

The *Tribune* of Thursday, May 7, 1891, in noticing one of Mr. Vaughan's lectures at Chicago, did so in the following words:

Ex-Mayor Walter Vaughan addressed an audience of colored people at Dr. Washington's church, on Dearborn street, near Twenty-ninth, last night, on the subject of his ex-Slave Pension bill. Mr. Vaughan told his hearers, in substance, that the Government was indebted to the negroes for the long years of servitude they had undergone. He criticised President Harrison for writing a letter in reply to a request for his assistance, in which Mr. Harrison said: "I have not had time to give the subject thought." Mr. Vaughan advised the negroes to stand together and demand their political rights.

It was Mr. Harrison's opinion that was solicited, not his assistance, and the author regretted that the then senator from Indiana and now President had not had time to arrive at any opinion whatever in the premises.

A private letter received from Editor Cooper, of the Indianapolis *Freemen*, after soliciting a cut of the author for publication in that valuable journal, was graciously kind in appending the following flattering remark:

We shall be glad to keep in constant communication with you, and we feel certain that we can be efficacious in keeping your name and your work before the nine million of colored people in this country. Should you visit Indianapolis at any time we shall expect to meet you in person.

It was with difficulty that the author of Vaughan's Freedman's Pension Bill and Plea for the Old Slave secured even a negative recognition from the public press when the first edition appeared and sought the countenance of public attention. Few editors favored the idea advanced, and those opposed would not give the work even the courtesy of saying that the plea was not in consonance with their opinions of public policy. The settled idea seemed to be that of killing the appeal by ignoring it altogether. But in the face of contemptuous silence from the hundreds of newspapers to which copies of the first edition were mailed, there were other papers—they were few but very grand—gave the matter discussed a decent review, even when not favorable to the principle involved. To such journals are due sincerest thanks.

The Omaha *Daily Bee* of Sunday, November 30, 1890, contained the following excellent mention in its column of book notices:

In an attractive book of 125 pages Hon. W. R. Vaughan, ex-mayor and editor, presents an elaborate explanation of his "Freedman's Pension Bill." The book is not only an exposition of that unique measure, but is one of the most interesting and complete statements of the negro question which has been written. A Virginian by birth and a democrat in politics, Mr. Vaughan yields to no man in his interest in the uplifting of the negro to a plane of respectable citizenship. His book is dedicated to Hon. W. J. Connell, "the brave representative who dared to say that the slave of a century is entitled to financial recognition because of former wrongs." It reviews the history of slavery in the United States, of the negro in the war, and of the progress of the negro since the war. Numerous portraits of eminent colored men are printed. Having proved that the negro race was worthy, both before and after its emancipation, the author proceeds to argue the injustice of leaving them free but ignorant and poor, and to show how his pension scheme would be a long delayed measure of justice. Among the features of the book are autograph letters from President Harrison and other well known public men. It is a work that is come of a very wide reading and should certainly be liberally patronized by the author's many friends in this locality.

The editor-in-chief and manager of the Omaha *Bee* is the Hon. Edward Rosewater, a gentleman who is at once a leading republican politician, a statesman of fearless views, as he has manifested on many occasions; a man of research, especially skilled in the science of telegraphy and all other lines of electrical management; and a citizen of broad views on all social questions which affect the general welfare. While not cordially endorsing the idea of negro pensionage, he is willing that the experiment shall have fair discussion and honest consideration.

Especial recognition is given to the Denver *News*, which gave the proposed pension bill an elaborate editorial discussion, after a critical examination of the pamphlet edition first issued. On Monday, December 22, 1890, the *News* editorialized, under the caption of "Pensioning Ex-Slaves," as follows:

The *News* is in receipt of a pamphlet by Hon. Walter R. Vaughan, editor of the Omaha *Democrat*, entitled "Vaughan's Freedmen's Pen-ion Bill," being an appeal in behalf of the passage by Congress of the bill introduced at the last session by Hon. W. J. Connell, of the First Nebraska District, "providing for pensions for freedmen released from involuntary servitude, and to afford aid and assistance for certain persons released, that they may be maintained in old age." This bill was prepared by Mr. Vaughan, and the pamphlet he has recently published is an argument in favor of its passage.

Mr. Vaughan is a native of Virginia, a Democrat by birth, education and instinct, his father and three brothers serving on the Confederate side during the War of the Rebellion, he himself only being prevented from entering the same service by reason of his youth. In his appeal Mr. Vaughan traces the history of slavery in this country from the time of its introduction by the slave traders of Great Britain in the early part of the seventeenth century to the date of their freedom after the great war between the States. * * *

He simply points to the fact that here was a race of people kept in slavery by the laws of the Government for over two and a half centuries, denied all the rights of citizenship, treated as cattle, horses, swine and other chattels, who were uneducated, illiterate, dependent creatures, suddenly given their freedom and thrown on their own resources; in the language of Mr. Vaughan, "the old slave was turned out to starve or die."

It is for these creatures that Mr. Vaughan makes his appeal. * * *

Giving Mr. Vaughan credit for sincerity and an honest desire to do what he considers to be a just and humane act, we are not prepared to endorse his proposition. * * * The negro is all right if let alone. Let politicians keep their hands off the South and leave the whites and blacks to work out the problem as to how they shall manage. * * * But there is an air of sincerity about Mr. Vaughan's plea which entitles it to respectful consideration.

Hon. John Aikins, editor of the *News*, is a leading democrat of the West, well known throughout the Union, and his views are entitled to consideration. The argument he has made in favor of pension has already been fully answered in this book. He is therefore entitled to be heard, for he is an honest and well-thinking man.

The *Advocate*, of Omaha, a paper published by a negro of ability and character in the interest of his own race, had the following to say in its issue of Saturday, November 22, 1890:

We present to our many readers this week a sketch of one who has proven himself to be a friend, and a true friend, to our race. Hon. Walter R. Vaughan is a well known business man of our city, one who has sufficient influence to command for us a great deal. He is also a Southern man, one who knows the need of the negro, and who has seen the poor black man labor from early morn into the blackness of night under the heavy yoke of slavery and oppression. "Our friend, we realize that, 'a friend in need, is a friend indeed.' Continue in your well begun work, and before the sun of your life is set, may we realize justice from the hands of the American Government, and ever may the name of Walter R. Vaughan be revered and honored by the many millions of Afro-Americans in the coming generations.

The *Omaha Progress*, published by Mr. F. L. Barnett, a gentleman of high ability as a writer and an honor to the negro race, published the following paragraph in its edition of Saturday, May 23, 1891:

We believe Mr. Vaughan is sincere in his undertaking to have the bill pass Congress to pension ex-slaves, and we heartily endorse his sentiments and will do all in our power to help in the good work. It is a just debt and should be paid. You all know that the white man had our labor for two hundred years, and this Government should pay for it. Let every Afro-American in this State help him push the good work on to victory. Get one of his books, for Mr. Vaughan is right.

The *Freeman*, of Indianapolis, Ind., under date of December 13, 1890, had the following remark concerning the Vaughan book, and the same paper has made other approbatory remarks on the same subject:

"A Plea for American Freedmen," by W. R. Vaughan, of Omaha, Neb., is a little book that ought to be read by every one for its historic value. It is truly "multum in parvo." Without reflection we would say it is the Freedmen's Case in Equity. We heartily endorse the Freedmen's Pension bill as human, as just, as equitable. The passage of such a bill by Congress would, to a very great extent, compensate the surviving ex-slaves for years of unrequited toil. As the writer truthfully says: "It will enable an impoverished race, reduced to penury through no fault of their own, to place themselves in a position of reasonable independence in their struggle for existence and recognition in general business affairs." The name of W. R. Vaughan will certainly have a place in the galaxy of humanitarians.

The New York *Advertiser*, edited by the Hon. John A. Cockerill, probably the best newspaper man in the Union, who came to New York with Joseph Pulitzer to refound, as it were, the New York *World*, then in the throes of dissolution—the success of this newspaper under John A. Cockerill's management is well known and needs no comment. Mr. Cockerill recently left the *World* and purchased the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, the oldest paper in the city, and the *Daily Continent*, the latter now called the *Morning Advertiser*—has had much to say editorially in regard to the Vaughan Ex-Slave Pension bill. On July 31, 1891, the *Advertiser* gives the matter a column and a half write-up. August 3, 1891, it published the following article. We reproduce the same, hoping to correct the evil by agitation. Colonel Cockerill says:

A FIELD FOR VAUGHAN.

"There really appears to be plenty of business in this country for a man like W. R. Vaughan, of Iowa. Another Abraham Lincoln is necessary to see that the colored man gets all his rights, and if Vaughan isn't that man, who is? There is much need for Vaughan just now in Mississippi, where the colored man is threatened with disfranchisement.

The two provisions in the new constitution of that State, one of which provides for the prepayment of a poll-tax four months before an election, and the other an educational qualification, are likely to reduce the negro vote at least 75 per cent.

To deprive three-fourths of the colored people of Mississippi of the right of suffrage granted to them under the constitution of the United States is a matter which should claim the attention of friends of the negro, and we hasten to lay the matter before Mr. Vaughan. The ex-slaves will doubtless be glad enough to receive the \$400,000,000 he proposes to get for them from the United States Government and Great Britain, but they certainly do not wish to be deprived of the right to vote.

If Mr. Vaughan can restore the electoral franchise to these oppressed blacks of Mississippi, there will then be none to question his ability to swing the negro vote in '92."

The New York *World* of August 2, 1891, published the following:

PENSIONS FOR EX-SLAVES.

"W. R. Vaughan, of Omaha, Neb., has published a pamphlet on the question of paying pensions to ex-slaves. He claims that the Government was not warranted in freeing slaves without providing them with means of support.

Mr. Vaughan prepared a bill to that end, which was introduced in Congress by Representative Connell, of Omaha. It was referred to the Committee on Pensions, which never reported upon it.

Many well-known men, among them Bishops Newman and Arnett and Frederick Douglass, have written letters of thanks to Mr. Vaughan for his labors."

The Chicago *Mail* of August 18, 1891, gave publicity to the following silly telegram from Washington, D.C., and we re-publish the same, to show how recklessly newspapers at times allow articles to appear in their columns.

LATEST REPUBLICAN MOVE.

VAUGHAN'S SCHEME TO PENSION NEGROES IS DESIGNED TO KEEP THEM IN THE PARTY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 17.—When Vaughan, ex-mayor of Council Bluffs, made his speech six weeks ago to a throng of breathless negroes, in which he said the ex-slaves should have \$400,000,000 from the Government as pensions, everybody thought Vaughan was a blatant, ignorant demagogue. But there was more behind it than was at first suspected. There is evidence—and a good deal of it, too—that this is a new scheme to hold the negro to the republican party till after 1892. It is a revamping of the story told in the South for ten years about the Government's intention to bestow upon the newly freed forty acres of land and a mule.

It is well-nigh incredible that such a scheme as Vaughan is advocating should be approved by prominent republicans, but it is—that is to say, they know it can never amount to anything, but it will be believed by the negro voters in the South and will bring them out to the polls. Vaughan tried to commit the president to it, but Harrison had too much sense to be led into such a snare. Fred Douglass has come out in a letter favoring it. Douglass knows, of course, that there is no possible chance for such a scheme, but he is in the plot. It is being preached all through the South.

The author is a Democrat and not a Republican, and he never saw and talked with President Harrison in his life, nor has he had a line from him since 1883. The above article is only in keeping with many similar misrepresentations concocted to injure the Vaughan Ex-Slave pension bill. The Chicago *Tribune*, a radical Republican paper, has published column after column, editorially, in opposition to the Vaughan Ex-Slave pension bill, but in each instance the argument was so vague and nonsensical that they were self-condemning and manifested malice and hatred to the negro. The following article appeared in that paper, August 18, 1891, to wit: "Mr. Vaughan, of Nebraska, the man who proposes to give the ex-slaves, freed at the expense of so many lives and so much money, a pension of \$400,000,000 based on $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent. fifty-year government bonds, says that he has letters of personal recommendation from John M. Thurston, Senator Cullom, Carter Harrison, and a number of other prominent Republicans and Democrats, and that most of them say regarding his bill, 'Even if the details of the plan may be found impracticable, something in the line of the measure ought to be adopted.' Undoubtedly those gentlemen who wrote thus did so more out of politeness and a wish to get rid of Mr. Vaughan than because they took stock in his project. It would have been better for them to say plumply that they had no sympathy with any such scheme, and were opposed unalterably to taxing the people to carry it out, especially as those who constitute now the majority of American citizens had nothing whatever to do with slavery in any manner, shape, or form, never profited by it, and never maintained it. Why should any man of forty or under be taxed on account of ex-slaves? The best and kindest plan for public men to pursue when cranks write to them about their whimsical ideas is to squelch them summarily and not hold out even a suspicion of the coolest kind of sympathy. The least intimation of approval always encourages the crank to keep on in his folly."

On August 12th, 1891, the Chicago *Tribune* published the following editorial:

PENSIONING THE EX-SLAVES.

A Nebraskan named Vaughan makes the wild and ridiculous demand that the United States Government pension all the ex-slaves. The *Tribune* spoke of this fantastic scheme in the terms it deserved. The Charleston (S. C.) *News and Courier* observes:

It is easy to see why the *Tribune* is opposed to pensioning the ex-slaves. Its policy is dictated entirely by its inveterate hatred of the South and Southern people. Of course it is opposed to pensioning the ex-slaves, because it knows that about 7,000,000 of those interesting people live in the South, and most of the pension money would be circulated in the South. We venture to say that if a majority of the negroes lived in the North or Northwest the *Tribune* would be the most powerful advocate of the Vaughan movement.

If pensions should be given those black men on whose unwilling labor the slaveholders lived until they were set free by Lincoln and Northern blood and treasure, then the pensions should be paid by those who profited by the unrewarded toil. If Robert Smalls' ex-master made more out of Robert while he held him as a chattel than the cost of clothing, feeding, doctoring, and housing him, then that ex-chattel has a moral right to begin a suit in assump-sit quantum meruit to recover the amount, whatever it was, that is due him.

* * * * Whatever pensioning or repaying is done must be the free act of a touched and regenerated Southern conscience, remorseful for the wrongs done the bondmen in the past. Under no possible circumstances can there be any paying of such pensions by the non-slaveholding North,

which was not benefited by slave labor—for the masters pocketed what profits were made—but which, owing to the existence of slavery, was saddled with an enormous debt in the efforts of abolishing it which is not yet paid off. Slavery is morally indefensible and economically bad, especially for the non-slaveholders in the slave States; but it had its educational advantages for the blacks, as Stanley or any other man who knows the negroes of Africa and also those of the United States will say. They have been taught to labor, they have been taught Christian civilization, and to speak the noble English language instead of some African gibberish. The account is square with the ex-slaves. The pension proposition is idiotic in its absurdity. But if any were to be paid it should come out of the ex-masters' pockets.

Now, in order to answer all such foolish newspaper opposition, we reproduce in this volume a few of the hundreds of letters in our possession, from representative tax-payers and politicians, giving fac-simile signatures with each. They should convince the intelligent reader that the author of the Ex-slave pension bill is in earnest with his work, and that his ideas are far from visionary and cranky. It will be a very difficult matter for the editor of the *Tribune* to convince any American citizen, with a spark of justice in his heart, that slavery was a Southern wrong, rather than a national evil, and that the debt due the ex-slave should be borne by the former master, when the United States Government became enriched by and through this stolen labor. At least 9,000,000 of tax-paying negroes and 2,000,000 of negro voters that are propagating very rapidly will soon demand from the United States and Great Britain what is justly due their race, for keeping them in involuntary servitude. The *New York World* of July 31, 1891, gave the Vaughan Ex-slave pension bill a column notice, and has since followed the subject up, indicating its disposition to let the matter be fairly discussed.

Many other journals of fairness, representing the white and black races, have given excellent notices of the Vaughan's Negro Pension labors, but not having the papers now at hand the notices can not be reproduced. Enough, however, have been given to demonstrate that the cause of justice to the old slave is gaining a substantial foothold. In a comparatively short time there will be none so base as to refuse to the appeal in behalf of the once patient slave, a fair and candid consideration.

The skies are brightening.

The "Brotherhood," published near the close of May, 1891, contained a very complimentary notice of the efforts of ex-Mayor Vaughan, to secure the passage of his Pension Measure, in which the following approbatory commendation appeared:

"Hon. W. R. Vaughan, of Omaha, Neb., the author of 'Vaughan's Freedman's Pension Bill,' which has passed the second reading in Congress, spent two weeks in Chicago, in the interest of his book and Pension bill. Mr. Vaughan is a remarkable man in eloquence, personal magnetism and philanthropy. He first began to take an interest in the pensioning of ex-slaves in 1870. When he visited his dying father in Alabama, and while passing through Mississippi, he saw old and feeble colored men kicked and cuffed about by railroad officials because they were unable to pay their fare. Mr. Vaughan takes the ground that the Government having recognized slavery for many years, is responsible to the slaves who labored to build up the Southern States, as unwilling subjects to involuntary slavery. He says that somebody owes these people for 240 years of unrequited labor. His book fully sets forth the reasons why the bill should become a law and is a most remarkable presentation of the justness of its claims.

"It is a second 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' which was the entering wedge to the final overthrow of slavery in this country. 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was written by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe in 1852. Several hundred thousands of her books were read by the nations of the world and by the South in particular; eight years later the United States was in the throes of an internecine war, which culminated in a great Emancipation through a baptism of blood. Twenty-eight years later a white man appears upon the public arena, and fearlessly, like John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, tells this people that they owe these people a debt which ought to be paid. * * * We would like to see the bill pass, and will do

all we can to aid its passage, because we believe the colored man who has ever been faithful and kind to the white people, and a true and tried defender of the nation's flag in the nation's peril, is more entitled to a pension than the Indian, whose hands have been red in the blood of the American people for more than 200 years, and yet, strange to say, our Government feeds and clothes these same Indians or their descendants just the same as though they were the best people on earth.

An Indian can get on a train and say "gh" "big Indian" to the conductor and ride across the continent free of charge. If a colored man is unable to pay his fare he is kicked off the train at the first station. Why is it thus?"

[To the dear friend who has kindly published the foregoing the author will say that he has no fear of fatal opposition of the South. Northern impracticables are far more dangerous.]

FOR THE BENEFIT OF EX-SLAVES.

The following blank is prepared for the purpose of securing, as nearly as may be practicable, the names and present places of residence of negroes emancipated from slavery by presidential proclamation, amendment of Federal and State constitutions, and the circumstances of the War of the Rebellion from 1861 to 1865.

1. Write full name below:

..... 2. Give name of master before emancipation, and his occupation:

..... 3. Give County and State where held in slavery at time of being set free:

..... 4. State your present age, giving date and place of birth, if known; if not, probable age, and place of nativity:

..... 5. State what business you have followed since emancipation. If a tradesman of any craft in slave days, state what your trade was, and whether you have followed the same avocation since becoming a free man:

..... 6. Give your present Post-office address:

..... 7. Give the names of two reputable witnesses who will make oath to the facts you have stated, of their own knowledge, and where they reside:

..... 8. State any other important fact touching your present abode or former place of residence, or that will in any way aid in your identification.

..... Mail this blank to W. R. Vaughan.

NOTE.—All newspapers and other periodical publications issued in the interest of the colored race, and also all papers having broad and catholic views upon subjects that appertain to the weal of a recently enslaved race, now striving to establish a high civilization and to advance the material interests of an important class of American citizens, are requested to give the foregoing blank a few gratuitous insertions, in order that all persons included within the scope of Vaughan's Freedman's Pension Bill may learn of the efforts now being made in their interests, and may be enabled to provide the data necessary to include themselves within the purview of such benefits as may ensue from future legislation by Congress.

W. R. V.

WASHINGTON D. C., 1891.

A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

One of the points designed to be consummated by the work undertaken in behalf of the ex-slave of the South, is the formation of clubs or associations everywhere which shall recognize a principal association or head at the seat of national government, to which all local clubs, or orders, will acknowledge paternity, and by means of such a cordon of lodges the old slaves may be able to control an influence in public affairs that would be otherwise utterly impracticable. These orders will be controlled exclusively by colored men, the only condition being that Mr. Vaughan, or, in the event of his death, one of his five sons, may meet with the lodges when necessary for the advancement of the grand work of Pension or Indemnity, which will be the central idea of the fraternity in its head and collateral branches. The organization will be secret only so far as may be necessary to promote the great end in view, and to solidify the negro element in a compact body for the advancement of the main end in view. The association will be non-political in its general tendency, committed by pledge only to the support of men who favor

the great thought of negro pension in their candidacy for office. But the membership will be pledged, irrevocably, against the support of any person for place, who fails or refuses to pledge himself distinctly in favor of the general idea of the Vaughan Freedmen's Pension Bill. In a word, the association will be one of the colored race alone, designed to advance the welfare of the old slaves and their descendants.

An insignia of association will be a badge, already being prepared, which will be regarded as a sacred talisman of union and determination wherever shown, and by whoever worn. An idea of the style of such a badge may be gathered from the following extract taken from the columns of the *Western Jeweler*, published at Chicago, May 9, 1891. Under the caption of "Score One for Home Industries," the *Jeweler* remarks:

"Messrs. Juergens & Anderson, the well-known manufacturing jewelers, 125 State street, have secured one of the largest—if not the largest—orders for the making of badges ever placed in the United States with one manufacturing house. Last Monday, Hon. W. R. Vaughan, ex-mayor of Council Bluffs, Ia., passing through Chicago en route for New York, called upon the Editor of the *Western Jeweler* [an old-time friend of his in the Northwest], and *en passant* mentioned that he was going to New York to secure a design and place an order for a number of badges. The *Western Jeweler* pointed out to Mr. Vaughan that there was no necessity for his going abroad with his favors, and the arguments brought to bear were sufficiently persuasive to cause Mayor Vaughan to reconsider his decision. The result was that after a very satisfactory interview with Messrs. Juergens & Anderson, a contract was signed calling for the delivery of one hundred thousand badges, to cost one dollar each. This quantity may probably be quadrupled within six months.

"This badge is to be worn by the members of a society that is known as 'Vaughan Ex-Slave Pension Club.' The objects of the association are to secure the passage of a bill now before Congress [having passed its second reading, being introduced last session by Representative W. J. Connell, of Nebraska, at the request of Mayor Vaughan], which will entitle all ex-slaves to certain pensions. Branch clubs are now organized in many of the larger cities of the Union, and it is expected that in a very short time the membership list will attain prodigious dimensions. The workmanship on the badge is quite up to the invariable standard of excellence of Messrs. Juergens & Anderson's factory, and the firm are to be congratulated on being lucky enough to secure the contract."

The front of the medal or badge will be a face of pure gold, 14 carats fine, with a back of solid plating. The badge will be worn only by members of the Associations in process of formation, and which is designed to work a revolution in public opinion. A single badge could not be made for a less price than \$5.00, but an order for one hundred thousand has brought about the low price of one dollar each. The work of the Vaughan Pension Movement is going forward with a will.

The associations alluded to are constitutional in their organization, and their organism is open to the most rigid inspection. At another place in this volume the constitution will be found inserted in full. It is certainly subject to no captious objections.

FORM OF MEMBERSHIP.

The following form is recommended for immediate use in making application for the formation of subordinate orders of the Freedman's Pension Association under the National Order:

The undersigned Colored Citizens of.....respectfully make application for the issuance of a charter for a subordinate order of the Vaughan Freedmen's Pension Association to be established at.....in the County of.....and State of...

Name.	Post-Office.	Age.	Whether Former Slave or Free

Until the formation of the National order at Washington, which may necessarily be deferred until after the meeting of Congress in December, 1891, applications may be addressed to W. R. Vaughan, at Chicago, Ill., who will file the same and keep applicants advised of all movements in the direction of forming clubs, and the general work incident to the welfare of the Freedman's Pension Movement.

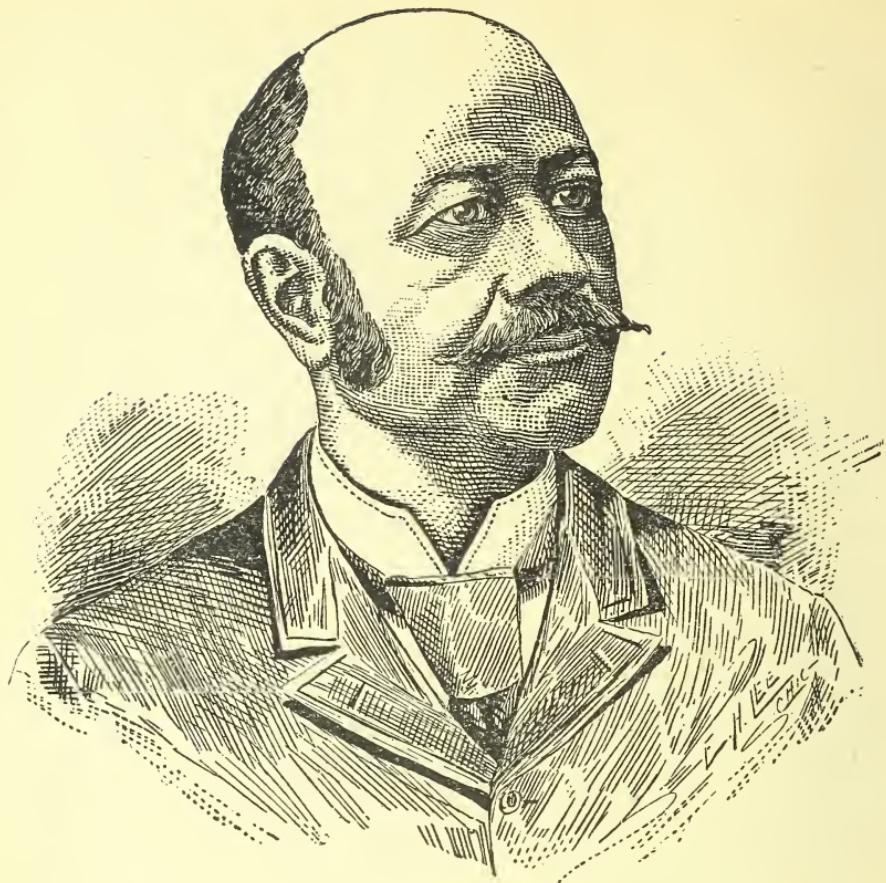
AN APPEAL LETTER.

But few white people in the United States can say that they have not enjoyed profits from negro slave labor, either directly or indirectly. If you have or if you have not, and you wish to honestly aid in righting a great wrong, either while living or in your last wills, it is to be hoped that you will remember the great work now being done for the ex-slave. The author of the movement has spent \$20,000 in the cause, and will continue to give his time and money thereto until death stops his effort. He has resolved to establish a national ex-slaves' Home, erect a military or West Point school for young negro men. Will you help him in his work? A few hundred dollars each, contributed by those who should be friendly to this cause, will start the two splendid institutions just mentioned, and will assist in the free distribution of thousands of these books to the ex-slaves of the South, who are wild to get the same and cannot do so for the want of money. Already Hon. Carter H. Harrison, ex-Mayor of Chicago; Hon. P. Kiolbassa, City Treasurer of Chicago; John M. Thurston, and a great many other philanthropic gentlemen, have sent cash checks to the author with a view of aiding in the distribution of this book without either endorsing or rejecting the bill, but with a view of giving publicity to the same, that the arguments therein, giving cogent reasons why the Government should grant this pension, may be fully read and considered. Will you not follow the example already set for you by great and good men, and help us in this work?

FORM OF BEQUEST.

I give and bequest to W. R. Vaughan, Manager, the sum of Dollars, to be applied to the use and purposes of buying land for the purpose of erecting the "Ex-Slaves National Home," and the "Afro-American West Point," and for which the receipt of W. R. Vaughan shall be a sufficient discharge.

If the above form is used by persons desiring to make bequests to this worthy cause, there will be no difficulty or misunderstanding as to the intention of the donor. Persons desiring to aid W. R. Vaughan in his philanthropic work, will please forward their contributions to W. R. VAUGHAN, 6756 Wentworth Ave., Chicago.



DR. J. H. MAGEE.

It would be a pleasure to be able to contribute to this volume such a biographical sketch as the merits of the distinguished gentleman, whose name heads this brief article, entitles him to receive. There is no memoranda at hand to do the subject justice. Dr. Magee is a remarkable man. He is just now devoting his talents to the publication of the *Brotherhood*, a strong weekly journal, printed in Chicago and devoted to the interest of the colored race. In declaring his platform, Dr. Magee, with a heart full of love for all good works and the sources from which they emanate, has put himself on record in these words:

"The *Brotherhood*, as its name implies, devotes itself in part to all fraternal societies, as they exist among our people. Its columns shall be opened to the pens of the best writers in all parts of the Republic, for the dissemination of useful information. We ask the hearty co-operation of lodges and benevolent societies in earnest support, and we will give them a paper to aid their vast and increasing membership."

No person can peruse the columns of the *Brotherhood* without knowing and feeling that the various orders which that journal so ably sustains are very largely indebted to their society realm for the propagation of good morals and educational science among the colored people. It is in the combination that the societies have strength, and it is through these that such men as Dr. Magee are enabled to do so much good for the race to which they belong. Again the *Brotherhood* declares:

"We shall hold up the Banner of Truth, which shall reflect the one com-

mon origin of man in the 'Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man,' regardless of race, creed or country. We wish to keep the readers of the *Brotherhood* interested in timely topics of the day. We will try to please as well as instruct, and now we close our editorial greetings with the earnest hope and steadfast faith that the *Brotherhood* may win for itself a cordial support and a wide field of usefulness."

The sentiments declared in such lofty terms amply mark the life and character of Dr. J. H. Magee. Of course such a man is a model husband, a good father, an excellent citizen and a pleasurable companion. Dr. Magee has been a good deal of a traveler in his time. His education was completed in the City of London, and thus by contact with the people of other lands and climes, he has learned much that can not be imparted in the school room or from the pages of a book. He has used his talents to excellent advantage, and with the sturdy honesty of his nature, he may truly be called "an honest man, the noblest work of God."

In the affairs of life Dr. Magee has been reasonably successful. He formerly resided, and still passes a good part of his time in Southern Illinois. He has property interests at Metropolis City, where he is generally known and is greatly beloved. Judge Benjamin O. Jones, of the Massac County Court is his especial friend and admirer, so that the intimate friendships of the worthy doctor are not confined to the black race by any means. In Chicago, Dr. Magee has purchased a home on Butterfield and 47th streets, where he is surrounded by an interesting family, and is in the enjoyment of the blessings arising from a conscience void of offense.

In public affairs he is a prominent actor and wields a large influence. Being an ardent Republican, he is naturally high in the confidence of the best men of his party. He now holds the office of grain inspector by appointment of Governor Fifer, and his duties are discharged in a way to secure the good will of business men who come in contact with him in his official relations.

For many years Dr. Magee followed the calling of a school teacher, and he has made his impress upon the public wherever he has taught. Taken all in all, he is a most valuable man, and one whom to know is to love.

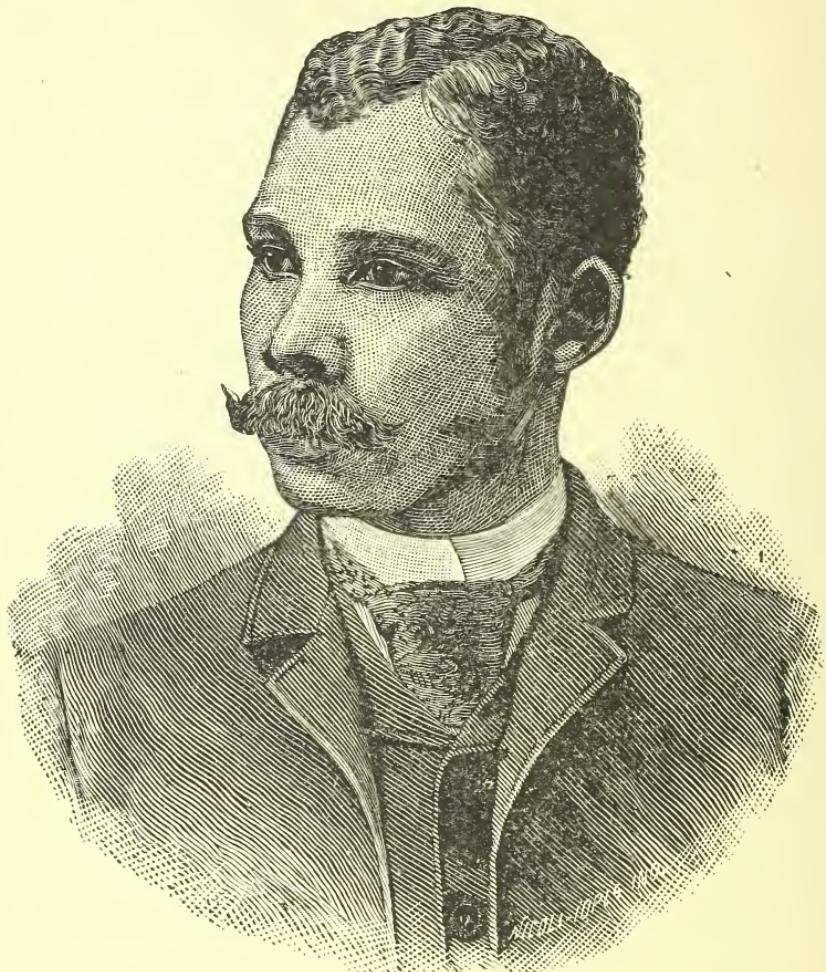
In early life Dr. Magee was greatly afflicted with necrosis or death of the bone, from which he suffered the tortures of almost death itself. He underwent a surgical operation, in which part of the bone of the left thigh and the heel bone of the right foot was removed. In an acknowledgment of divine interposition in his restoration to robust health and manly vigor, he wrote a book of 175 pages, which he was pleased to call "The night of Affliction and Morning of Recovery." This book had an immense sale. The Dr. will republish his book in an enlarged edition, giving important personal reminiscences of Hon. W. R. Vaughan, author of the Freedman's Pension bill, Gov. Oglesby, Gov. Fifer, Senator Cullom, John A. Logan, Col. Wm. R. Brown and others. Dr. Magee is well educated and enjoys the rare distinction of a course of religious training in Spurgeon's College, London, England, also a Grammar school education in Toronto, Canada. He was a member of the Republican State Central Committee of Illinois four years, and is regarded as one of the best orators in the State. His labors in National and State campaigns are very affective. He enjoys the acquaintance and friendship of the leading white men, as well as a leader of his race in Illinois.

Dr. Magee is a prominent member and one of the trustees of Quinn Chapel, A. M. E. Church, Chicago; he is also a local elder in the same church, and an earnest worker in the Sunday-school. He is one of the trustees of Providence Hospital, an institution under the able management of prominent colored men, of whom Dr. D. H. Williams and Bishop John M. Brown and others are represented on the board of management.

EDWARD ELDER COOPER.

The gentleman whose name heads this brief biographical sketch is one of the most successful editorial writers who devotes his time and talents to the benefit of the negro race, of which he is a shining example. In truth this sketch can scarcely be called a biography, for the reason that the writer is not familiar with the youthful career of Mr. Cooper. From a publication

made in the *New York Age* by Mr. W. A. Sweeney, it has been learned that Mr. Cooper is a Southerner by birth, but that he sought a home in the North at an early age. He was a hotel waiter at a Philadelphia hostelry in the Centennial year, and after the festivities of the memorable international event which marked a hundred years of American independence had concluded, Mr. Cooper found it convenient to turn his steps westward. He located at Indianapolis, where he entered school, and for twelve months worked for his board and clothing. He continued to labor as he studied, and finally graduated from the City High School as the sole colored matricu-



EDWARD ELDER COOPER.

late in a class of sixty-five persons. After his graduation kind friends secured for him an appointment in the railway mail service, where he served four years, retiring in 1886. But while in the postal service Mr. Cooper joined with Edward F. Horn, formerly of Evansville, and others in the publication of the *Indianapolis World*, a weekly newspaper, devoted to the interest of the colored race, and the propagation of the principles of the Republican party. The *World* was a successful business venture, but a change of postal routes obliged the temporary retirement of Mr. Cooper from the newspaper field. When relieved from the postal service, Mr. Cooper returned to the *World* enterprise, but was regretful to find that a once prosperous journal had run down from a circulation of 2,000 to about 500, and that the business estab-

lishment was seriously involved in pecuniary embarrassment. He succeeded in reviving the business prosperity of the journal, and speedily placed it upon a paying basis. After something more than a year, Mr. Cooper made sale of his interest in the *World*, and July 14, 1888, he began the publication of *The Freeman*, the only illustrated organ of the colored people that has ever been attempted in the United States. The *Freeman* stands very high in the journalistic circles of Indiana. It has a wide circulation, and controls a vast political influence, though it can scarcely be called a political organ. It leans toward the Republican view of political issues, but strikes sturdy blows against the policy of that party whenever the manager does not agree with prevailing methods. Mr. Cooper has been denominated a Negrowump in political lines, and it is safe to call him the stiffest kind of an Independent. He exercises a glorious influence for the advancement and sturdy independence of the Negro race.



HON. JAS. A. HANDY.

HON. JAMES A. HANDY, of Washington, D. C., was born in Maryland, the mother State of many eminent blackmen, but barren in the production of great white men, if we except the late Hon. Henry Winter Davis and the living Judge Hugh L. Bond.

James A. Handy, by nature, is the peer of any, and sturdily stands to-day in company with the most advanced of the race. Reared in the midst of slavery, he was debarred of even the commonest school advantages. In his own words, the buck and saw were his books, while the wood wharf was his school-room.

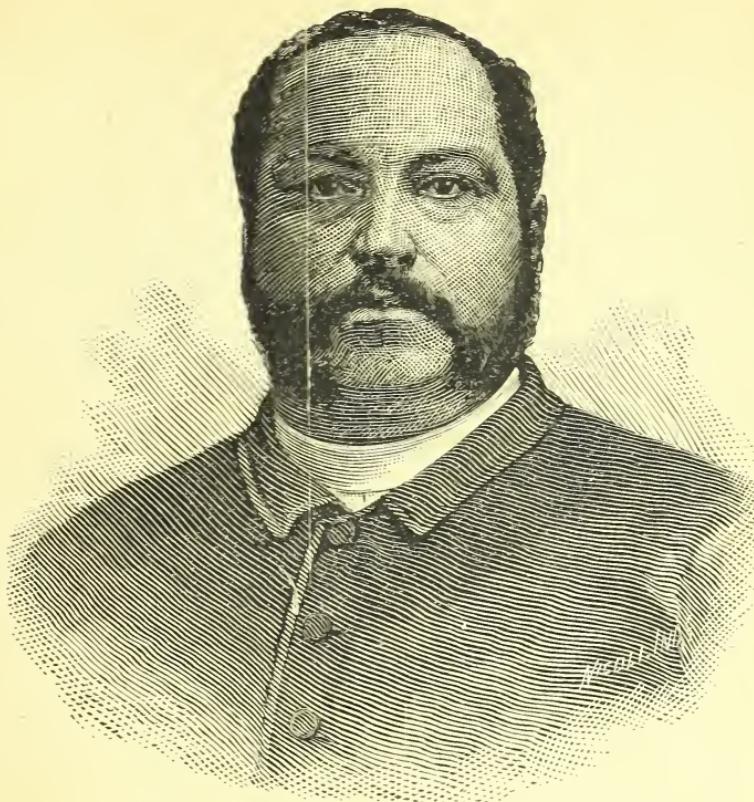
As a man, he is characterized by a frankness and decision, which at times assume even an air of rudeness. He is, in the broadest sense, a progressive man; was the first to introduce the order of the Sons of Temperance among his people in Baltimore. He has the credit of ranking high in the Masonic Fraternity. Last but not least, he was the Baltimore agent of the Underground Railroad and Telegraph Company for the years 1856, '57, '58, '59 and 1860, '61. He is at this time Secretary of Finance of the great African Methodist Episcopal Church at Washington, D. C., of which he has been a

member thirty-eight years. Mr. Handy is a large tax payer and as a true American citizen is willing to see the worthy soldiers fairly pensioned, but thinks it but honest to deal justly with our former slaves.



F. L. BARNETT.

Among the brightest and most active intellects of the negro race may be safely classed the editor and proprietor of the *Omaha Progress*, a bright and influential journal which has the confidence and support of the white and black races. Mr. Barnett first saw the light of day at Huntsville, Ala., July 7, 1854. He was born of and reared by slave parents. When sixteen years old, and after emancipation had become a fixed fact, he entered the Rusk Institute, where he pursued his studies one year. His next step in life was to procure additional scholastic culture, and he arranged for a night course at the Fisk University, at Nashville, Tenn., where he had the good fortune to secure employment from Dr. Greenleaf, then in charge of the U. S. Army post at Nashville. Mr. Barnett attended night school for a period of four years. After his university course, Mr. Barnett made his home in Louisville, Ky., where he became the steward of the Prentice Club, and continued in service for eight years, much to his personal advantage and to the general satisfaction of the club membership. He then removed to Portsmouth, O., where he engaged in business pursuits but met with financial reverses. He next took a place as a laborer, where he wrought diligently for several months, until his exchequer warranted further adventure in business for himself. He was married June 7, 1880, to Miss Alice Burns, a lady whose acquaintance he had made during his residence at Louisville. His domestic life has been one of complete happiness. Locating at Cleveland, Ohio, Mr. Barnett's past experience enabled him to secure the place of front house man in the Union Club, as he was an adept in club work. He resigned from the club to take charge of the culinary department at Hatch & Thompson's fashionable restaurant, where he was a prime favorite during a period of four and a half years. Then, resolved to seek a home in the West, he wended his way to Omaha, Neb. In his new home he first found employment at the Omaha Club, but in a short time he took the management of Irwin's Gate City restaurant. He retired from that business to accept a position as collector for the Hussey-Day Plumbing Company. At a later day he entered the field of journalism and began the publication of the *Omaha Progress* October 5, 1889, of which paper he is now sole owner. Mr. Barnett has achieved a high estimation in Omaha, and is regarded as one of the men of influence of the city. High honors await him in the future.



JEREMIAH M. WASHINGTON, OF CHICAGO, ILL.

Every town, every city, every village has its leader, and in this the colored race has proven that they can keep step to the music of progress. The subject of this sketch was born in slavery, but was full of push and pluck and ambition. He has succeeded in giving himself a liberal education, and is to-day regarded as one of the ablest pulpit orators in the country. He is not only an orator, but is a leader and a church builder, and possesses the personal magnetism that carries the people with him. Jeremiah M. Washington was born in Rockville, Maryland, in 1852. Early in life he evinced a disposition to join the church, and he preached his first sermon in 1874 at Louisville, Ky., where he organized and established Washington Chapel, a local church, and he carried from this church to his first conference one hundred and eighty financial members. His work from the very start was a success. He went from Louisville to Madisonville, Ky., and remained there fourteen months. In this time he rebuilt the church, and left it in a flourishing condition, with one hundred and sixty active members. The leaders of his church had noticed his wonderful work, and in 1877 sent him to St. Louis, Mo., and it was here that his most remarkable work was performed. He was in St. Louis three years, and in the same time he bought the ground and built one of the largest and handsomest churches in that city (as in Louisville, he named this church after himself—Washington Chapel), on Morgan street. Rev. J. C. Temple is the present pastor of this church. He was dubbed by the St. Louis newspapers "The Western Moses," and during his work in St. Louis he left nine hundred active members to his charge. He then went to Knoxville, Tenn., built one church at this place, and then to Little Rock, Ark. He remained there two years, and then he came to Indianapolis in 1884, and was two years at Jones' Tabernacle. Elder Washington has a large following in the church, and has been elected general

delegate three times at the Conference at Montgomery, Ala., New York, and at New Berne, N. C. He was a prominent candidate for the Bishopric, and was once nominated for that important place. He located in Chicago the 9th of February last and took charge of Washington Chapel in that city, located on Dearborn street between Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth streets.



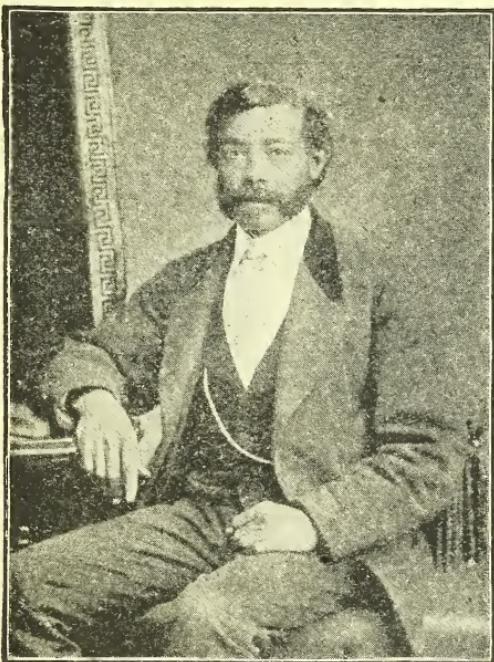
DR. M. O. RICKETTS.

The writer can speak of Dr. Ricketts, in view of residence in the same city with him, and hence for the reason that he has personal knowledge of the fact that the doctor is highly respected in the city of his adoption. He is a skilled physician, and has the professional sympathy and support of white men who pursue the scientific lines of surgery and medicine. Dr. Ricketts was born April 3, 1858, in Henry county, Kentucky, of slave parents. After emancipation and the freedom of the slaves his parents removed from Kentucky to Missouri. In the home of his adoption the lad was enabled to procure a fair education, and his scholastic course was completed by graduation, with honor to himself and his admiring friends, at the Lincoln University. He received his diploma with credit and honor at the Commencement Exercises of 1876. Four years later Mr. Ricketts took up his residence in Omaha, where his industry and economy enabled him to take a full course of three years' study and experience in the Omaha Medical College. He graduated with honor in his class and took up his professional residence in the city of his adoption. He has secured a fine practice and ranks high in the medical fraternity. White surgeons frequently meet with him in consultation respecting extreme cases, and have often invited his diagnosis of cases immediately under his charge. Dr. Ricketts has taken an active part in public affairs and is justly regarded as one of the important factors in the local political situation of Omaha and Nebraska.

BISHOP JOHN M. BROWN was born in Cantwell's Bridge, now called Odessa, New Castle County, Delaware. The Bishop is a man of great piety and energy. He believes that "what others can do he will do," and he generally succeeds. He is a great friend to young men, always willing to help the man up the hill of life who is aspiring with honest aims. He is both a blessing and an inspiration to all among whom he dwells. He has friends by the thousands, east, west, north and south.

DANIEL L. LAPSLEY.

This gentleman was born of slave parents in Caldwell county, Kentucky, November 13, 1833. In slave days his mother was the property of Rev. R. A. Lapsley, a Presbyterian clergyman. The parents of the subject of this sketch were united in wedlock by the master and owner of the mother according to the marriage rites of the Presbyterian faith. The Rev. Mr. Lapsley having been called to the pastorate of a church at Nashville, he hesitated to separate a family by taking a slave wife from the household of her husband. The result was that the woman and her family were left in Kentucky under a verbal agreement of the husband and father to purchase, at a low rate of value, his wife and children. Unfortunately in May, 1846, the husband and father died before his work of purchase was completed. Then, at the appeal of the widowed mother, her former master, Rev. R. A. Lapsley, repurchased the slave mother and children at about double the sum for which he had agreed to sell them. The venture seriously embarrassed the devout pastor,



DANIEL L. LAPSLEY.

but his sons and daughters came to his relief and enabled the father to regain a household of servants which had done much towards nursing and rearing his own progeny in their infantile days. Daniel L. Lapsley, the oldest of three slave children, with their aged mother, became inmates of their old master's family, March 10, 1847, at Nashville. In that pious household, the slave children were taught to read and write, one of their regular instructors being J. W. Lapsley, the master's second son, who has subsequently been a law-partner of Senator John F. Morgan, of Alabama, and who now holds a judgeship over one of the Alabama courts. At the outbreak of the Great Rebellion, D. L. Lapsley, of whom this sketch is written, with two other colored men, constituted a firm of barbers in Nashville. He received instruction in appropriate branches of learning thrice a week from Prof. Daniel Watkins, pursuant to a private agreement. After the war he became a member of the board of education and assisted in the appointment of teachers for the first colored schools. He also took an active part in the estab-

lishment of the Baptist College, now known as the Roger William's university. He was elected a justice of the peace in 1868, and again in 1870. In 1873 he was admitted to the bar and began a successful practice of the legal profession. He served as one of the vice-presidents of the colored State Convention at Memphis, in 1872. In January, 1890, Mr. Lapsley became a citizen of Omaha, Neb., where he now resides. He is a valuable citizen and is doing all in his power to elevate the standard of his race, North and South. Wherever known, Mr. Lapsley commands the admiration, respect and confidence of his white fellow-citizens. Integrity and honor are regarded as unimpeachable traits of his personal character.

HON. JOHN G. JONES, of Chicago, Illinois, was born on the eighteenth day of September, 1849, in the City of Ithaca, Tompkins county, State of New York. At the age of ten years he emigrated to the City of Chicago and has been a permanent resident ever since. He has advanced thus far in life by his energy, determination and ambition, and to day commands the respect of the most distinguished men, both black and white, throughout the country. On the recommendation of the late Hon. John A. Logan, Senator of Illinois, President U. S. Grant, in 1873, appointed him U. S. Commissioner to the Island of Cuba to investigate the report as to whether colored people had been captured on the coast of Florida and taken to Cuba and sold as slaves. The reason Mr. Jones did not go was because it was soon found out by the American Government that the matter had been amicably settled.

From early boyhood he possessed the irresistible desire to become a lawyer. He commenced the study of law when he was a young man under the instruction of the late W. W. O'Brien, Illinois' famous criminal lawyer; was admitted to the bar to practice in all courts in 1883, and is recognized to be a clear-headed lawyer and a forcible and eloquent speaker. He is plain, bold and outspoken in his views on all questions; he is one of the leading colored masons of America, having advanced to the 33d degree, and is now the Lieutenant Commander of the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Scottish Rite Masonry of the United States. Mr. Jones has done many acts to advance the best interests of his race of people, which long will be remembered in the hearts of his fellow countrymen.

COL. ALEX. A. JONES, was born in Wilmington, North Carolina, February 14th, 1852. He was born a slave, went with his parents to Boston in 1859, attended the Phillip School in the west end of Boston two years. In 1864 entered the army. After the close of the war he returned to North Carolina. He is well known in Virginia, Washington, D. C., Indiana, Minnesota and Iowa. Col. Jones has always been a Republican and has done good work for his party. In business prompt, faithful, accurate; as a journalist, vivid, bright, animating, strong. As one of the leaders of his race he is true as steel. He is one of Nature's born orators, and leaves an impression upon his hearers. As a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, he commanded two Posts, one in Boston and one in Indiana. Was selected on Department Commander Chase's staff, of the State of Indiana. He has been in and filled with credit, places of trust in the post-office at Boston, Mass., in Custom Department, also in the Pension office; is one of the most prominent and successful workers of the African M. E. Church, a man who never tires working for his race.

REV. GEO. W. GAINES was born in Missouri, and might be termed a self-made man. His work among his race has been crowned with much success. He was elected a delegate to the National Convention from Missouri in 1884. He is a faithful minister of the gospel. He was appointed to the pastorate of Bethel Church, Chicago, in 1889, and reappointed in 1891 to the same charge; and elected almost unanimously by the Iowa Conference to represent the convention in the General Conference to be held in Philadelphia in 1892. Elder Gaines was a slave and had but few advantages, but to see and talk with him you would pronounce him a professor of theology.

HON. F. L. BARNETT, is a prominent man in social and political circles. He is an able lawyer, and editor of the *Conservator*—the oldest negro journal in the United States. Judge Barnett is as true as steel to a friend. He has a very valuable law practice and is remarkably successful.

C. F. ADAMS is one of the editors and owners of the *Appeal*, one of the best known Afro-American illustrated weekly journals in America. He spent some years abroad in the study of the German language, in which he is very proficient. Mr Adams has a great many friends; he is a strong writer and the *Appeal*, his paper, has a large circulation.

We could write for a month about remarkable negro men and women, former slaves, who have developed within the last twenty-five years, with but little money and help in life's struggles to aid them, and who now rank as the equal, and many superior, in their respective professions to their white brethren, who were educated and cared for with the proceeds of negro labor, but space and time forbid further mention or extended notices, that in our future editions of this book will receive our careful attention.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA, August 27, 1891.

To those interested:

We have known Hon. W. R. Vaughan for many years. He was mayor of Council Bluffs, Iowa, part of five years, and curator of Iowa two years. In 1884 he had in New York several hundred thousand dollars of Council Bluff bonds, with full written authority to sell the same at such price as he thought best. The only bond over him was his official bond of \$8,000. He sold the bonds at par and accrued interest, and with the proceeds put down some twelve miles of paving. We have always regarded Mayor Vaughan as upright, honest, and as true as steel to his friends, or a cause championed by him. Since his first residence, in 1869, with us he has been the poor man's friend, white or black, and we are satisfied that his Ex-Slave Pension bill and its cause will always be handled with sincerity and fidelity. We can and do cheerfully endorse him as a man of brains, honor and irrepressibility, and fully entitled to your confidence and respect.

*Almae Mayor of Council Bluff
Frank City-Solicitor
W. R. Stewart (Capitalist)
Joseph R. Raw Sheriff of Pottawattamie County
John Wright, Sheriff of Pottawattamie County
John C. Neel, Commissioner of Pottawattamie County
James O'Neill Sheriff of Pottawattamie County, Iowa
Charles H. Hansen, Citizen State Bank
L. C. Thompson, City Treasurer
James M. Murphy, Judge, Des Moines County
John W. Smith, W. T. Smith, (of Iowa)
Walter J. Smith, Judge, L. J. Judge and Clerk of Des Moines*

OMAHA, NEB., August 28, 1891.

To the Public: Hon. W. R. Vaughan, the author of the Ex-Slave Pension Bill introduced in the fifty-first congress, has been a resident of Omaha since 1886. We cheerfully concur in the letter of Mayor Macrae, and others of Council Bluffs, Iowa, dated August 27th.

Mayor Vaughan is upright, honest and competent to consummate any of his undertakings. We recommend and endorse him as in every way worthy of your confidence.

Frank C. Moore

John S. Boyd

John Rush

Virgil

City Surveyor

S. J. Jackson Pastoraster

Henry J. Bohn Managing Director Women's Savings Bank

J. J. Mahoney, Co. Atty.

Charles F. de la

Cho. Dem. state Central Com. of Nebraska

CHICAGO, ILL., June, 1891.

TO OUR REPUBLICAN FRIENDS.

Gentlemen: The bearer, Hon. W. R. Vaughan, Ex-Mayor of Council Bluffs, Iowa, a resident of Omaha, is the author of the Ex Slave Pension bill introduced in the 51st Congress. We take pleasure in introducing and commanding him to your favor. His novel undertaking has attracted Press, Public and individual attention from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. Mr. Vaughan is a Virginian by birth and a Democrat, but his pension movement is in no way political, that is unless a candidate is nominated by some party that openly admits his opposition to the bill. We think, however, that the work is in line with Republican ideas, and as those whom the measure will benefit are mostly Republicans, we trust you will render Mr. Vaughan all possible aid. By so doing you will please us.

Very respectfully,

Hubbellow

Bill Abbott

Alvare - Colvige S. C. S. Senator for Illino

Frank - Sanjourans P. Y.

John H. Brown ^{Author} of Indecon, Illinois, Iowa,
Illinoia - Benj Tucker Tanner

W. M. Turner

Bishop T. Dominic T.

A. W. Wayman

Canada, Bermude

W. J. Gaines

and W. Col. Indecon

Baltimore Md.

It affords me much pleasure to enclose in
the statement of Senator Cullow & others ad
also Explanatory of
Omaha July 3 1891 W. J. Gaines

SEMI ANNUAL COUNCIL OF THE BISHOPS OF THE AFRICAN M. E. CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES, HELD AT CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 1891.

The following is a true copy of the report of the committee appointed by the Board of Bishops, in official session at Chicago, Ill., June 25th, 1891. The report was duly adopted.

We, your committee, to whom was referred the subject of Freedmen's Pension Bill, as presented by the Hon. W. R. Vaughan:

After due consideration and examination do most heartily commend the plan, and will use our influence, to have every person entitled to it, have a just pension.

W. M. Turner,
W. J. Gaines
Benjamin W. Arnett
Secretary, Council &
Chairman of Committee

Whereas, Hon W. R. Vaughan has introduced to the Conference his bill now pending in the United States Congress; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Conference, do hereby indorse said bill, and further, that it be affixed to the report on State of Country.

Adopted by Iowa Annual Conference A. M. E. Church, Chicago, Ill., September 1st.

R. J. M. Long Le

LINCOLN, April 9th, 1891.

To the State and City Officials: The bearer of this, Hon. W. R. Vaughan, has been a resident of Nebraska, for the past five years. I have had an intimate personal acquaintance with him for several years previous, while he was a resident of Council Bluffs, Iowa, of which city he was at one time Mayor.

Lately, he has been publishing a Democratic paper in Omaha. Mr. Vaughan is a staunch Democrat, a genial companion, and an intelligent gentleman; I take great pleasure in giving him this letter of commendation, and in wishing him success in all his undertakings.

Very Respectfully,

James E. Boyd
Governor of Nebraska

UNION PACIFIC SYSTEM, LAW DEPARTMENT.

OMAHA, NEB. June 22, 1891.

To My Brother Republicans: Col. W. R. Vaughan is engaged in the publication of a very valuable book, especially designed for the benefit of the colored race. Although a staunch democrat, Col. Vaughan holds very high and correct opinions upon the political questions affecting the colored people, and I cordially recommend his work to the Republicans of the United States.

I also take pleasure in recommending Col. Vaughan as a worthy gentleman and good citizen. Respectfully submitted,

John Shurton

OMAHA, NEB., July 21, 1890.

HON. W. R. VAUGHAN.

Dear Sir: I received the papers which you sent to me. * * * You know my sentiments with regard to the colored people, and that I have a very hearty sympathy for the cause which you have so unselfishly undertaken. With best wishes for your success, I am

Very truly yours,

W. J. Broatch

Ex-Mayor of Omaha.

CHICAGO, July 16, 1891.

HON. W. R. VAUGHAN.

Dear Sir: When you first presented your Freedman's Pension Bill to me I thought it a wild scheme and not worthy of consideration; but, after hearing you fully on the subject and considering your arguments carefully, I must confess that I see merit in it.

Yours very truly,

Dr. Studebaker

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S CHURCH.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IA., Aug. 25, 1891.

To the Catholics of the United States:

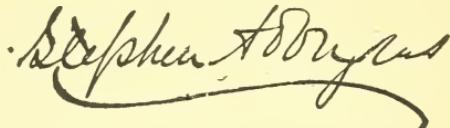
The Honorable W. R. Vaughan, author of the Ex-Slave Pension Bill and book, has been a resident of Council Bluffs, Iowa, and its chief executive officer for a number of years. Mayor Vaughan has always been a friend to our people, and during the suffering in Ireland in 1879, he was the first to aid us in shipping several cars of provisions to Ireland. I have never called on him to aid our church, fairs, etc., in vain. He is my personal friend, and any favors shown him will be highly appreciated and reciprocated by me.

*Very Respectfully
B. P. M. Monomy
Pastor St. Francis Xavier*

CHICAGO, June 29, 1891.

To Whom It May Concern: I have known Mr. W. R. Vaughan for a number of years and am much interested in his proposed work, though I can not say that I have had sufficient time to examine the scheme to give it my entire approval. However, I am thoroughly convinced of his earnestness and honesty of purpose and cordially commend him to those whom he may meet.

Yours Respectfully,



DETROIT, MICH., August 12th, 1891.

Dear Sir: I hope you will receive from me an apology for not having written you the letter I fully intended to, but I lost your address and the work of the encampment so absorbed my thought that I was unable to attend to anything else. Of course I am one of those who wish to see the negro thoroughly cared for, but whether money paid would be as well for him as an education offered him is a problematical question.

I confess the question is so vast that I have not had the time to give it the thought I would like to do. Am buried in work that has accumulated during the encampment, which, as I said before, has taken all my thought for the past month.

Sincerely Yours,



OFFICE OF CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE, Manufacturing and Commerce.

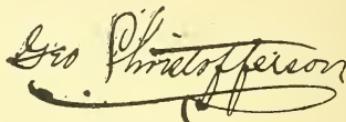
LINCOLN, Neb., June 18, 1891.

HON. W. R. VAUGHAN, Chicago, Ill.

My Dear Mayor: I have written an article on your great and meritorious work of pensioning those of the colored race now living in the United States who were once held in involuntary servitude under the laws of this country. I earnestly hope that your great work is meeting with that support and approval which your undertaking merits. Negro slavery was either right or wrong. It was declared wrong—it was wrong. The declaration on the part of the Government that it was wrong was a confession on behalf of the people of the United States; and that confession simply means that the negro people are human beings and that they are entitled to a just and fair compensation from the Government for the time during which they were held in slavery and made the subject of taxation as well as the basis of representation. This is an unanswerable conclusion. It is a logical and a mathematical deduction, and the fact that long delayed but only partial justice was done by the emancipation of negro slaves in the United States should not be dignified as an argument, but rather as a subterfuge, why they are not entitled to a fair and just compensation from the Government for the time in which they were held in bondage.

The disenthralled four millions of blacks went forth from the plantations and prison pens of the South like so many penitentiary convicts who have either been pardoned or whose terms of punishment have expired—with this difference, however; the negro ex-slave bore not the stain of crime when he went forth into a new world to make his own way, yet he was beset by the

same obstacles, impediments and opposition to his own advancement, in as great a degree as those which ever confronted an ex-convict emerging from merited punishment. The cases are numerous wherein persons unjustly convicted and imprisoned have recovered damages and compensation from the State which suffered such injustice to be done. Why should not this rule apply to all alike, regardless of the color of the skin? Your position and attitude with reference to the race which you are so philanthropically befriending is absolutely impregnable. Again wishing you great success, I remain the friend of yourself and yours,



State Senator.

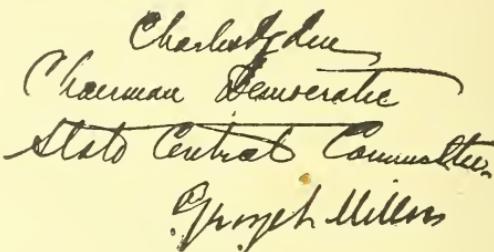
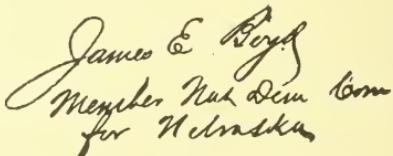
HEADQUARTERS DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

OMAHA, NEB., May 27, 1891.

TO OUR DEMOCRATIC FRIENDS.

Gentlemen: The bearer, Hon. W. R. Vaughan, ex-mayor of Council Bluffs, Iowa, a resident of Omaha for several years, now president of the Democrat Pub. Co., is the author of the Ex-Slave Pension Bill introduced in the Fifty-first Congress. We take pleasure in introducing and recommending him to your favor. His novel undertaking has attracted press, public and individual attention from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Mr. Vaughan is a Virginian by birth and a true democrat. We hope and ask that you render him all possible assistance. By doing so you will please us.

Very respectfully,

Cedar Hill.
Anacostia, D. C.

July 26. 1891.

Honorable

W. R. Vaughan,

Sir: I thank you very sincerely for calling my attention to the Bill prepared by you and presented to Congress by Hon. W. J. Connell of Nebraska, which provides for pensioning the freedmen upon forth now I was somewhat amazed and startled by the apparent impracticability of the Bill: but the more I thought of it the more practical it seemed and I saw that what the nation ought to do, that, the nation can do. The nation, as a nation, has sinned against the Negro. It robbed him of the rewards of his labor during more than two hundred years, and its repentance will not be genuine and complete till, according to the measure of its ability, it shall have made restitution. It can never fully atone for the wrong done to the millions who have lived and died under the galling yoke of bondage, but it can, if it will, do justice and mercy to the living.

There never was and never can be a proposition more just and beneficial than that contained in your pension Bill. If men do not do regard it the reason is to be found in the

fact that long years of injustice towards the negro have blunted and perverted their moral sensibility and driven the negro outside the beneficent range of human brotherhood.

Under the whole heavens and in all the history of the world no people were ever more deeply wronged since man's freedom was burdened with a curse. It was emancipation coupled with starvation. The wife turned loose, not to ¹⁵ support, not to slavery; not to shelter her, the storm. Age and infancy. The infirm and the strong were to turned out not to live and flourish, but to strive and die.

The Egyptian toilsman went out with the spoils of his master, and the Russian serf was provided with farming tools and three acres of upon which to begin life, but the negro the slave had neither spoils, implements nor lands, and to day he is practically a slave on the very plantations where formerly he was driven to toil under the lash. Those who once had the power to whip him to death now have the power to starve him to death. This is largely due to the distinctions to which he was doomed by the manner of his liberation. Had a measure like that you now propose been adopted at the start, untold misery might have been prevented.

Your Bill is just and I thank God that you have the head and heart to press it upon the attention of the nation.

Very truly yours,

Frederick Douglass

Chicago June 18th 81
Hon F A Vaughan

My dear Sir

A hasty perusal of
your "Plea for American Freedmen"
shows me that it jumps with
my own conclusions. Is not the
Pension Bill, however, somewhat
too sweeping? Would it not be
within financial possibilities, if
its beneficiaries were confined to
such as approached Military
age before the close of the Civil
War? Those under that age were
somewhat prepared for their new
relations, and were to some extent
able to keep their own road.
It is idle to ask if the African
was not bettered, when he was brought
from the dark continent to Christian
America. Our one father we act as

by greed, pain and suspense, and
thus sin was not washed out when
we their descendants freed the
slaves, we did it as a war measure
and have no more right to claim
merit for it ~~than~~ than had the
masters of the past century, when
they lashed Christianity into naked
backs and manacled bleeding
limbs at the foot of God's altar.
Negro labor, when cotton was king
poured countless millions into
Amercia, and enriched the North
as well as the South. Negro aid
enabled our armies to cut the seceding
States in twain, and guided its
columns in their march to the sea.
For this we gave the Negro the ballot,
with two hits a piece at many a
Southern voting place. Hungry and
naked he asked for bread and we

gave them a stone, and bade him bathe his emaciated limbs in God's Northern Sun.

The Negro gave to the world an example of kindly and patient fidelity unknown to the history of the past, and not dreamed of in its traditions. Left on the plantation as the guardians of defenseless women and children, the long and bloody war was not marked by a single act of humble vengeance. When called upon to join liberating armies he quietly stole away, lighting his steps by no burning homes and leaving the stains of no bloody hands upon the doorposts of the house of his bondage.

Future ages will erect monuments in memory of the the gentle Negro of the great war of the rebellion. How much more just would it be for

the present age to soften the declining years of those who were the kindly actors of this beautiful drama!

He call the Freedmen the "nation's wards"; and boost the Government in their guardian ~~interests~~. In the Middle ages chancellors decked the horns of rich maiden wands and made them brides of noble heroes. He fight over our wands to win votes for peace hunting parties. A few dollars from a mighty nation's treasury, a few leaves from the people's grain, ^{they} would do more real good, ^{than} volumes of sympathetic orations in Senate Halls or mountains of monumental stones in after ages.

Let the nation prove itself just by granting moderate pensions to those who helped it in its hour of danger and thus wipe out the dark wrong of our ancestors.

Very truly yours
 C. H. Garrison

Omaha May 22-1871.

W. R. Vaughan, Esq.

Dear Sir.

Slavery was tolerated by the general Government, & sanctioned by the constitutions of the Slaveholding states. The masters of the South & the merchants of the North grew rich on Slave-labor. Slavery was robbery. Emancipation was a man-measure. To save the African those in bondage were set free. They were driven from shelter and thrown penniless on the world. Poorly - Their lot to-day. We cannot repay them the wages due them, which have accrued for a hundred years but honesty & honor demand that they should receive from the people of the United States some compensation. Your plan may not be the most feasible but it contains the suggestion of justice.

Respectfully Yours,
John P. Newman

LETTER OF THANKS, ETC.

I have been and am being favored by so many who feel an interest in my work, seeking to right the Nation's wrong perpetrated on the negro race, that I hardly know who to or how to express my appreciation for the kindness shown. I will say, however, in behalf of 9,000,000 negroes, that such sympathy and acts of brotherly justice will surely redound to your future happiness and welfare, and will never be forgotten by the present and future generations. I desire to especially thank the following gentlemen for valuable courtesies extended:

Hon. P. E. Studebaker, treasurer and business manager of the well-known Studebaker Brothers' Manufacturing Company, a firm that has done more to help the farmer and laborer than most any business men known to the author. Studebaker Brothers have a national reputation as philanthropists; they have given thousands of dollars for the erection of churches and benevolent institutions.

P. S. Eustis, general passenger and ticket agent of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad, has also placed the author of this book and Ex-Slave Pension bill under lasting obligations. Mr. Eustis is a born railroad man, quick to care for the interest of his company, liberal in his ideas, and thoughts broad enough to grasp the fact that the friendship of 9,000,000 of negroes for the Burlington system would prove beneficial to the stockholders of his company. With George W. Holdredge as general manager of the Burlington, at Omaha, Neb., a company with which he has been connected for almost twenty years, and to which he is wedded in body and soul, the interest of this splendid company will not be neglected in the hands of two men so competent and broadgauged as Holdredge and Eustis. George M. Clark, of the firm of George M. Clark & Co., whose factory and salesrooms are on Superior street, Chicago, feels a deep interest in the negro race and the proposed Ex-Slave Pension bill. He and his partners have extended courtesies and favors to us for which we will ever feel grateful. James Barker, general passenger agent of the grand old Monon Railway Company, has a great future before him as a railroad man. He works very hard in the interest of his company. We are indebted to him for valuable favors. Messrs. Juergens & Anderson, the old, popular diamond house of State street, Chicago, are the gentlemen who have the contract for making the Ex-Slave Pension Club gold emblem badge. Their word and work are absolutely reliable, and the interest they have taken in our movement is very gratifying.

The A. N. Kellogg Newspaper Company, the Western Newspaper Union Company and the Chicago Newspaper Union Company are each managed and controlled by first-class officers. Through their aid in supplying auxiliary sheets throughout the United States to publishers, hundreds of newspapers have been established that otherwise could not have existed, and Afro-American newspapers can easily be established chiefly through this system. We are under obligations to all three of these firms. Hon. E. St. John, General Manager of the C. R. I. & P. Railway; F. A. Miller, Assistant General Passenger and Ticket Agent C. M. & St. P. Railway; O. W. Ruggles, General Passenger and Ticket Agent Michigan Central; D. I. Roberts, Assistant General Passenger Agent Erie Railway, and J. C. Tucker, General Northern

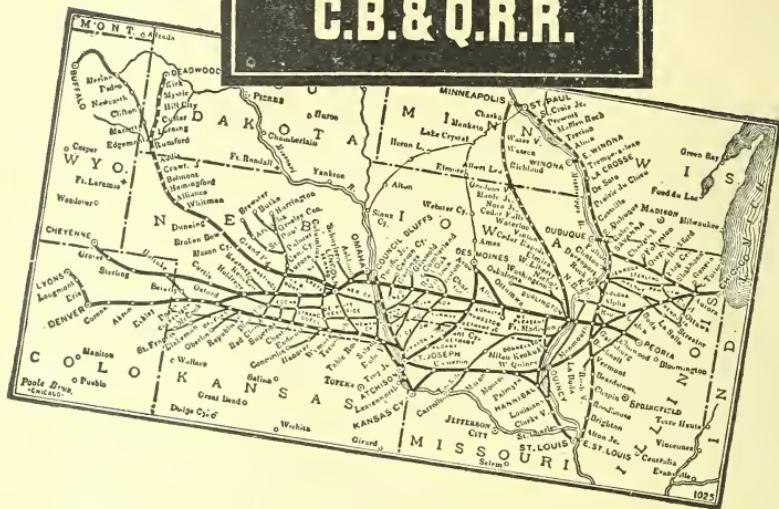
Agent of the Big Four Route, have each placed the author under obligations for courtesies extended, for which the friends of the Ex-Slave Pension Bill, as well as the author of this Book and Bill, will ever feel grateful, and be ready to reciprocate. In fact, there are hundreds who have manifested kindness and friendship, that we cannot in this issue mention individually.

In conclusion, it is to be hoped that if the reader has perused without prejudice the pages in this little volume, his judgment of honesty and right will let his influence and voice be instrumental in securing the passage of the "Vaughan Ex-Slave Pension Bill," that the wrongs of a nation may be partly righted. The time has come when by-gones should be by-gones and sympathetic spirits and human companionship should unite together for righting the greatest wrong which is recorded in the history of civilization. The day of *real* Negro Freedom is drawing near.

Yours truly
W.B. Vaughan, Sr.

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